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ABSTRACT

GRADES OR AGES: High school. SUBJECT MATTER: Social studies, International relations. ORGANIZATION AND PHYSICAL APPEARANCE: The introductory material covers the school district philosophy, a description of the program, major concepts for international relations, and techniques for evaluating objectives. Material is provided for six units (definition of international relations, development of our present sovereign state system, factors that influence relationships among nations, nature and goals of diplomacy, methods of control in international relations, and international organizations of control) and is set out in three columns--objectives, activities, and instructional resources. There are extensive sections of duplicated resources and transparency masters. The guide is lithographed and spiral bound with a soft cover. OBJECTIVES AND ACTIVITIES: These are listed in detail for each unit. INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS: References for each unit are included in the column on instructional resources. The duplicated resources include listings of films, sample ballots, bibliographies, articles and speeches; the transparency masters include maps, charts, and tables. STUDENT ASSESSMENT: Techniques for evaluation are described in the introductory material. (MBM)

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INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT NO. 271
BLOOMINGTON, MINNESOTA

A Program for High School Social Studies; International Relations.

Preliminary Edition 12-69

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FOREWORD

Preliminary plans for the development of a new international relations course were made by Mr. Wes Hanson, Mr. William Rumpel and Mr. Robert Timpte during the school year 1968-1969. Mr. Rumpel developed this guide for the course during the summer of 1969.

BLOOMINGTON SCHOOL PHILOSOPHY

The philosophy of education of the Bloomington Public Schools professes the belief that each child should develop his potential to the fullest, and to meet his intellectual, moral, spiritual, aesthetic, vocational, physical, and social needs as an individual, an American citizen, and a member of the world community.

It believes the following basic principles. We believe in:

- The value of the individual personality
- The worth of the individual
- The individual's potentialities
- The individual patterns of human growth
- The individuality of learning
- The value of good mental and physical health of the individual
- The importance of the moral and spiritual values of the individual
- The individual's need to identify with groups
- The value of creative instruction
- Continuous educational research and utilization of its findings
- The value of excellence in all instruction.

DESCRIPTION OF THE NEW INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAM

This course in international relations is planned as a basic elective in the tenth or eleventh grade under a new plan whereby tenth or eleventh grade students will be required to take a world based course but can choose from several offered. These courses will include world history, international relations, comparative world government, area studies (Project Social Studies) and anthropology.

In preparation for the writing of this guide, preliminary discussion of scope and sequence had occurred in connection with the proposal for a quarter system at Lincoln High School and it was decided that in this plan we would also divide the year's work into three equal segments:

First Quarter:	The Nature of International Relations
Second Quarter:	The Nature and Goals of Diplomacy
Third Quarter:	The Revolution of Rising Expectations

The units on the nature of international relations will emphasize the importance and, indeed, the urgency of the need to study and solve problems in international affairs and focus upon the study of concepts identifying international relations as an interdisciplinary subject calling upon all of the social sciences for enlightenment.

An assumption in this proposed plan is that students electing the course will have a basic understanding of the world as interpreted through the disciplines and that accumulation of data will be of minor importance and necessary primarily as a remedial measure.

Each of the units of work will be studied through a series of case studies designed to reinforce understanding of the concepts basic to international relations. Simulation games will be identified as a method of instruction and inductive discovery methods will be identified through activities recommended in this guide. Varying viewpoints of problems will be explored and just as the most important concept in diplomacy is decision-making, so too students will reach their own decisions as to the proper course to be followed in solving the problems of international relations.

No single text will be identified in that paperback materials and the multi-media will be the basis of study, a necessity if differing viewpoints of problems are to be explored by the students.

It is hoped that small group discussion sessions may be organized in the new program so as to facilitate dialogue in a seminar type of situation.

MAJOR CONCEPTS FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Unit I Definition of International Relations as an Interdisciplinary Study

- Interdisciplinary structure
  - History
  - Geography
    - Cartography
    - Geopolitics
    - Demography
  - Political Science
    - Government
    - Ideology
  - Sociology
  - Anthropology
  - Economics

Unit II The Development of Our Present Sovereign State System

- Sovereignty
- Nationalism
- Force and Power
- Imperialism
- The State System
  - Forms
    - Democracy
    - Parliamentary
    - Executive
    - Absolutism
    - Totalitarianism

Unit III Factors That Influence Relationships Among Nations

- National Interest
  - Security (Military)
  - Economic factors
  - Ideological factors
  - Geographical location
- National Power
  - Resources
    - Human Natural
  - Technology
  - Political Cohesion
  - Military Posture
  - Diplomacy
- International Perspective
  - Ethnocentrism / Altruism
  - Isolationism / Internationalism

Unit IV The Nature and Goals of Diplomacy

- Diplomacy
  - Definition
  - Nature
  - Goals
- Foreign Policy Administration
  - Public Opinion
  - Media
  - Governmental
  - World Situation

- Foreign Policy Administration
    - Departments of Foreign Affairs
    - Diplomatic Services
    - Consular Services
- Diplomatic Decision Making
    - (Case Studies)

Unit V Methods of Control in International Relations

- International Control
    - Definition
    - Need
    - Development
- International Law
    - (Case Studies)
- Balance of Power
    - (Case Studies)
- Collective Security (Alliances)
    - (Case Studies)

Unit VI International Organizations of Control

- International Organizations
    - Definition
    - Need
- Evolutionary Development
- Regional International Organizations
    - Regionality
    - Goals
    - Function
    - Power and/or influence
    - Internationalism / Nationalism
    - (Case Studies - eg. Marshall Plan, N.A.T.O., Warsaw Pact, Colombo Plan, Common Market, Seato, O.A.S., O.A.U., etc.)

- International Relations
  - Goals
  - Functions
  - Power and/or influence
  - (Case studies - U.N. and its agencies)

Unit VII The Revolution of Rising Expectations

- Revolution
- The Rich and the Poor
- Rising Expectations
  - Undevelopment
  - Stages
    - Economic growth
    - Political development
  - Population
    - Tradition and Change
  - Rural / Urban
- International Remifications
  - Foreign aid investment
    - Economic
    - Military
  - World Trade
  - World Community of Nations
    - (Role of organizations)
- (Selected case studies throughout the unit)

Unit VIII Conflict and Resolution of Conflict

- Aggression in Man

- Conflict
  - Ideological differences
  - Economic rivalry
  - Cultural diversity
  - National interest
- War
  - Purpose
  - Types
    - Limited
    - Conventional
    - Nuclear
    - Accidental
    - Catalytic
  - Technology
  - Warfare State
- Resolution of Conflict
  - Education
  - International Organizations
  - International Law
  - Meaning of Peace

Unit IX Ideology and International Relations

- Ideology
  - Development
  - Influence
- Ideology and National Policy
  - Political Policy
  - Economic Policy
  - Religious Pressures

- Resolution of Ideological Differences
  - Tradition / Change
    - Political
    - Economic
    - Cultural
- Evolution / Revolution
  - Co-existence

TECHNIQUES FOR EVALUATING OBJECTIVES

Evaluation of the objectives of these units is a valuable and essential part of the learning process. It provides the open-endedness to learning which is so essential. By using evaluation the teacher helps the individual and the group assess their acquired skills and learnings but immediately applies this assessment to new and more complex learnings.

The scope of evaluation is wide and may be applied to the individual, the group, the process, or the total program. Because it is difficult to isolate any of these, it would seem that the evaluation should be concerned with all of the involved inter-relationships.

Techniques that we will use to measure the assimilation of skills and abilities and affective objectives by the students will be the following:

A. STUDENT SELF-EVALUATION

Students will be constantly evaluating and re-evaluating the validity of their conclusions through research and discussion.

Periodically the group should be given the opportunity to discuss the manner in which they handle discussion of a problem. The central topic should be "how can we improve our discussion techniques individually and as a group?"

B. TEACHER-STUDENT CONFERENCE

During the conference the teacher would use this opportunity to give personal attention to the student and his progress.

This time could also be used for a short discussion of his participation in the program.

The conference also presents an opportunity for the teacher to assess attitudes and changing attitudes from the conversation of the student. This conference presents an opportunity to assess the effect of the stated objectives of the units on the student.

C. TEACHER OBSERVATION AND EVALUATION

The alert teacher will seize the opportunity to observe and evaluate the continual growth of the student and the group toward mastery of the objectives of the course. Any information about individuals within the group that the teacher gains in this manner can be discussed with the student at an opportune moment or at the time of the student-teacher conference.

Through observation, evaluation will focus upon subjective factors inherent in the program.

D. TEACHER-MADE TESTS

Tests used within this course of study will be varied in character. The tests will be designed to cause the student to recall general principles and concepts rather than isolated, seemingly non-related facts.

Tests will evaluate skills, attitudes and knowledge.

E. STANDARDIZED TESTS

The standardized tests given during the senior high school years should be relied upon as important instruments in evaluating the social studies program.

An area of great concern should be the use of attitudinal tests and attempts will be made to identify and administer these.

Quarter One   Topic - "The Nature of International Relations"

Unit I - Definition of International Relations as an Interdiciplinary Study

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
International Relations is an interdiciplinary study dependent upon all the social sciences.	Pretest with factual knowledge survey and opinionnaire. Provide each student with a mimeographed copy and allow about 20 minutes for the class to fill out the forms. The survey can be used to tell you what your students already know about the making of American foreign policy. Have the survey self-scored and returned to you for future planning. Because the opinionnaire is designed to reveal pupil attitudes, there can be no "right" or "wrong" answers. The results of both exercises may be held until the completion of the unit when they may be given again for comparative purposes. Ask your students to observe what changes - if any - have occurred. Even though there are no "right" or "wrong" answers to the statements on the opinionnaire, your students should be prepared to defend their views.	See duplicated resources at end of unit.
	Assign students reading so they may be able to discuss the fact of involvement.	Platig, The United States and World Affairs Chapter One
	Play tape to give students a better understanding of why the United States is involved in the world.	Rostow, The U S in the World Arena
	Show a film to help illustrate where we as a world are and how the United States relates.	Ziebarth, "Our Shrinking World" - Lincoln
		"The United States In A Revolutionary World" - University of Indiana

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	Students will discuss or write on the subject "Why were we spectators rather than leading actors in the drama of world politics?"	
	Divide the class into groups to do research on social science areas and have them identify and discuss aspects of social sciences most relevent to International Relations.	Social Sciences Perspectives Series. Charles E Merrill Brook. Compass of Geography Commanger. The Study of History Sorauf. Perspectives of Political Science Martin & Muller. Prologue to Economic Understanding Rose. The Study of Sociology Pelto. The Nature of Anthropology
	Using wall maps, transparencies, and atlases, study the various types of maps and evaluate students ability to read maps.	
	Review research techniques with special attention to evaluation of periodicals and newspapers.	
	Geographical considerations play a vital role in the development of any country. Have students comment on what ways the location of the United States has contributed to its development. How does the United States compare with the Soviet Union, Red China, India, or Africa in terms of size, population, and natural resources?	Hall. The Silent Language See duplicated resources at end of unit.
	Have students brainstorm to arrive at definition of international relations, foreign relations, foreign policy, and sovereignty. Check student definitions against standard source books.	See reference list under duplicated resources at end of unit.
		Teacher Resources Rostow. The U S in the World Arena J P Cole. Geography of World Affairs Mills - McL[illegible]ghlin. World Politics [illegible]n Transitions pp. 4-10 Lercke. Foreign Policy of the American People Platig. The United States and World Affairs

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	Have students brainstorm to arrive at definition of International Relations, foreign relations, foreign policy, and sovereignty. Check student definitions against standard source books.	Mills & McLaughlin. World Politics in Transition
	Introduce students to research techniques and sources.	Duplicated resource
	Geographical considerations play a vital role in the development of any country. In what ways has the location of the U S contributed to its development? How does the U S compare with the Soviet Union, Red China, India, or Africa in terms of size, population, and natural resources?	
	Test for basic concepts studied.	

Quarter One Topic - "The Nature of International Relations"

Unit II - Development of Our Present Sovereign State System

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
Sovereignty means supreme authority which recognizes no superior beyond which there is no legal appeal.	Read and discuss the history and implications of sovereignty. Students may wish to list implications for todays world problems. "To have supreme and independent power or authority" is a short dictionary definition of sovereignty. Ask students what this means as applied to the U S? Have them give specific examples of the use of sovereign power by the U S. Discuss how sovereignty has been confused or corrupted in our country. Invite an outside speaker to speak on "Reason of State as a Principle of International Politics."	Frankel, Joseph. International Relations. pp 1-15 Atwater, Forster, Prybyla. World Tensions: Conflict & Accommodation. pp 46-48 Kohn, Hans. The Idea of Nationalism. Chapter 5 Hollins, Elizabeth ed. Peace is Possible 230-242 Reginald D Lang, Professor of International Relations, Carleton College. See guide to speakers.
The paradox of our age is the development of the increasingly interdependent nature of sovereign nations.	Read in Platig's U S and World Affairs to discover what the paradox is and its alternatives. Discuss the findings. Have students collect political cartoons or cut out pictures and make a booklet or bulletin board to mirror this paradox. Questions for discussion/writing could be: What factors have led to the rapid rise in interdependence of nations during the last twenty years?	Platig. U S and World Affairs. pp 10-12

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
External sovereignty implies a basic contradiction to any nation of international order.	Read several sources to identify the basic contradiction. How could the contradiction thus discovered be resolved? Could be either discussed or assigned as a paper.	Frankel. International Relations. Chapter 1 Platig. U S and World Affairs. pp 10-12 Hollins. Peace is Possible pp 218-230
	Organize a debate or discussion. Resolved: The United States and other nations should abolish external sovereignty.	Mills - McLaughlin. World Politics in Transitions Chapter 2
	Invite an outside speaker to address the students.	United Nations Assn. World Federalists Union
	In the event that a world authority similar to the Clark-John model were established, would you feel that you had surrendered your piece of American sovereignty? Would you feel that the U S had surrendered its sovereignty? Students can either discuss this or write on the subject and then discuss. A panel discussion could also be in order.	Hollins. Peace is Possible
	Have students play Disunion, a simulation game of the 21st Century paralleling the problems of sovereignty in the U S 1781-1789.	Simulation Game Disunion IMC #K9175
Nationalism is a major force today.	Students should read in the available sources to identify what nationalism is and to list the factors contributing to nationalism.	Film: "Nationalism" IMC F9045 Gibson, John S. Ideology & World Affairs Atwater, Forster, Prybyla. World Tensions: Conflict & Accommodation. Chapter 4

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	View film "Nationalism". Students can answer these questions: How can nationalism be defined? What are the three phases of nationalism? How can nationalism be a force for progress and regress.	Frankel. International Relations. pp 16-22, 56, 169-170, 176-178
	List and identify the nation-states of the world on a map.	Kohn, Hans. The Idea of Nationalism
	Individual or group research on "Nationalism & War" and report to class.	Deon, Vera Michaeles. The Nature of the Non-Western World. Chapter 10
	Students or student groups will research and report on different nation-states interpretation of nationalism.	Wright, Quincy. A Study of War
		Atwater, Forster, Prybyla. World Tensions: Conflict & Accommodation. pp 141-148
		Wanamaker, Temple. American Foreign Policy Today pp 38-39, 138, 188
	Show film "Boundary Lines" and discuss its appeal to eliminate arbitrary boundary lines.	IMC Film - Boundary Lines
	Show film "South African Essay: One Nation - Two Nationalisms" so students may discover nationalisms regressive tendencies.	IMC Film - South African Essay: One Nation - Two Nationalisms. F4118
	Note some examples of "reactive nationalism" - the reaction of a new nation against loss of status as a sovereign and equal state (e.g. the desire of many underdeveloped nations to establish their own jet-equipped airlines). Can the students find analogous behavior - "keeping up with the Jones's" - in their own community? What are the pressures that produce this kind of reaction? Are there ways to alleviate such pressures - what would the students do? Show film on rise of nationalism.	Film: "Rise of Nationalism in S E Asia" University of Illinois

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	Invite a speaker to talk about "nationalism".	Gerhard Von Glahn, Chairman and Professor of Political Science, University of Minnesota - Duluth. See speaker guide.
Imperialism is a method by which nations have maintained and expanded their sovereignty.	Students are to read the available sources on imperialism and arrive at a definition and the rationale for such action. A student group can discuss or debate "Resolved: that the United States is an imperialist nation." A poll of class or school can be taken by a select few to reveal attitudes concerning imperialism and rate countries as to their imperialistic tendencies. Students will construct a bulletin board to demonstrate either imperialism as a positive or negative instrument of international relations. Students will read and discuss the various national interpretations of imperialism.	Frankel. International Relations. pp 175-178 Atwater, Forster, Prybyla. World Tensions: Conflict & Accommodation. pp 125-126, 157 Osgood, Robert. Ideals & Self Interest in America's Foreign Relations. pp 28, 44, 51, 77, 84, 86-88, 91, 156-157 James, Leonard. American Foreign Policy Liska, George. Imperial America Horowitz, David. The Free World Colossus Fulbright, J William. Arrogance of Power Kennan, George. American Diplomacy: 1900 to 1950 Platig. U S and World Affairs. Chapter 7 Teacher Resource

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
		Mills - McLaughlin. World Politics in Transitions Chapter 8
		Lerche, Charles. Foreign Policy of the American People. pp 81-82, 113-114, 150, 157, 165
		Swearingen, Roger. Focus: World Communism. pp 10, 417-420
		Rostow, W W. The U S in the World Area
		Film: "Imperialism and European Expansion" University of Illinois
		Reprint: New Republic "We Honorable Imperialists" (dup resources)
States may assume the form of a democracy, absolutism, or totalitarianism.	Students will read available resources in order to discuss a definition of democracy, absolutism, and totalitarianism and their history.	Ward, Barbara. Five Ideas That Changed the World
	Students will after reading write down on a piece of paper their understanding of the terms and then collectively work out a satisfactory definition for each.	Orendt, Hannah. Origins of Totalitarianism.
		Gibson, John. Ideology and World Affairs
	The class or a panel will research and discuss specific nation-states rationale for choice of a particular state system.	Atwater, Forster, Prybyla. World Tensions: Conflict & Accommodation. Chapter 5, 7

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
		Fremantle, Anne Ed. Mao Tse-Tung
	A student/group will report on Machiaveilli's writings concerning the nature of authoritarianism.	Machiaveilli. The Prince
		Wright, Quincy. A Study of War
		Dean, Vera Michaeles. The Nature of the Non-Western World
	A student/group will report on Orwell's book Animal Farm and its implications concerning totalitarianism.	Orwell, George. Animal Farm
		Williams, William. The Tragedy of American Diplomacy
		Wanamaker, Temple. American Foreign Policy Today Chapter 3
	A student/group will report on De Tocqueville's view of democracy.	De Tocqueville. Democracy in America
	Each student will choose a world leader or nation and decide whether it should be classified as a democracy, absolutist, or totalitarian. Then submit findings to teacher and class for discussion. The teacher may then use transparency on Contemporary Ideologies for discussion of their findings and either change it or fill in student's finding.	Transparency: Contemporary Ideologies - at end of unit
	Students, through a paper, discussion, or bulletin board, should show an understanding of each of the state systems way of life.	
	Each student should draw diagrams depicting contemporary ideologies with at least five countries in each of the three ideologies.	

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	A group or all the students will research the topic: Why have totalitarianism and authoritarianism been more widely practical then democracy?"	
	Show films to give a glimpse of modern day ideologies and their methods and leaders.	Films: Mao Tse-Tung, U of M Fascist Revolution, U of Stalin, U of M The Twisted Cross, IMC F4050 Hitler, Adolph, U of M Democracy, U of M Castro, Fidel, U of M Mussolini, 20th Century, Prudential Franco, Spain I & II 20th Century, Prudential Czechoslovakia: From Munich to Moscow, Pruden From Kaiser to Fuehrer, Prudential
	The class can undertake the 4-H Game of Democracy to help them learn about democracy by participating in a series of simulated legislative and community meetings.	
	A discussion of self-determination by class can be undertaken. Questions can be "what do we mean when we say that a country should be free?" Do we mean that it should choose democracy as we know it? Is there a single, ideal system of government? "To what extent do the factors of literacy, experience, national resources, leadership, or morals determine the government a country shall choose?"	Theobald, Robert. The Rich & The Poor Ward, B. Rich Nations & Poor Nations
	Students will put together a grouping of slides or films to depict their interpretations of the three basic ideologies.	

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	Students who may have traveled in totalitarian or authoritarian countries can report on their observations and accompany their report with pictures, slides or films if taken.	
	Invite outside speakers to address class. A foreign national may add another demension to an understanding of the ideology. "Democracy & Dictatorship" (Latin America)	Cyril Allen, Professor of History, Mankato State College. See speaker guide.
	Culminating Activity - Examination on Unit II.	
	Test for basic concepts.	

Quarter One Topic - "The Nature of International Relations"

Unit III - Factors that Influence Relationships Among Nations

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
The national self-interest is dependent on geographic location, economic & ideological factors, and military security. It is the key-concept in foreign policy.	Students will read the available resources to discover the meaning of national interest and discuss their findings.	Platig. U S and World Affairs. Chapter 4 Wright, Quincy. A Study of War. pp 79, 94, 104, 108, 110, 112, 128 Frankel. International Relations. pp 47-56
	Have each student volunteer one trait of the American National Character and list them on the board. Discuss and compare them with those listed in the Headline Series.	Headline Series #172 "National Character" pp 33-36
	Discuss schools of thought of the idealist and the realist concerning national interest.	Osgood, Robert. Ideals & Self-Interest In America's Foreign Relations
	Students will read available resources and write on a sheet of paper what their understanding of vital national interests are. Discuss findings.	Atwater, Forster, Prybyla. World Tensions: Conflict & Accommodation. pp 15-45 Kennan, George. Realities of American Foreign Policy Fulbright, William. Old Myths and New Realities Chapter 2 Teacher Resource Brondon, Donald. American Foreign Policy. pp 98-115 Mills - McLaughlin. World Politics in Transitions Chapter 4

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
The ideology of any state plays a key role in defining the kind of security and well being toward which a state aspires.	Ideological considerations may conflict with national interest and security. Have students refer to one of the following and write a brief statement telling why it represents a conflict between ideals and the need to protect national security: problem of disarmament, providing Chiang Kai-shek, Tito, or Franco with economic aid; or giving military assistance to South Vietnam.	Gibson. Ideology & World Affairs Atwater, Forster, Prybyla. World Tensions: Conflict & Accommodation. Ch. 5-8
	Students will read from the available sources to be able to define "ideology" and discuss its important key role in establishing security and well being of a nation.	Lerche, Charles. Foreign Policy of the American People. pp 303-312
	Have students distinguish between a universal value and a universal ideology.	
	The class through discussion, a panel, or a written assignment can comment on the price a nation may have to pay to pursue the extension of its ideological goals.	Platig. U S and World Affairs
	A student panel or the class individually should choose five countries researching security, economics, ideology and geographical factors. Then formulate what they believe would be in each nation's national interest. Then discuss their interpretations with the class.	
	Have pupils individually write down in order of importance what they believe are the 5 most important interest goals of the U S. Compile on the board and then collectively evaluate.	

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	What is Adam Schaff's definition of "peaceful coexistence"? Note examples of peaceful competition in fields other than international relations (e.g. cooperation among different religious denominations). It is possible to engage in ideological competition without resorting to the use of force?	
	What is the likely result of peaceful competition between different ideologies? Must one win over the other? Can there be a refinement and improvement of both ideologies? Can the competition lead to better understanding on each side? Although competition creates anxiety, can it also be a source of vitality? (Consider this in relation to your own experience, e.g. in school, in sports.)	
	See activities listed under Unit II. "Development of Our Present Sovereign State System."	
	Have students speculate from their reading what are the pathways and prospects for accommodation regarding ideologies.	Committee on Foreign Affairs Winning the Cold War: The U S Ideological Offensive (pamphlet)
	Is the Cold War a necessary response to Soviet threats can further be discussed.	
	In order to focus attention on the question of accommodation, you might ditto and hand out the following statements, the first made by the late President Kennedy and the second by Barry Goldwater. (It may be advisable not to reveal their names.)	
	a. "Let us examine our attitude toward peace itself. Too many of us think it is impossible. Too many think it unreal, but that is a dangerous, defeatist belief. It leads to the conclusion that war is inevitable, that mankind is doomed, that we are gripped by forces we cannot control. We need not accept that view. Our problems are man-made; therefore, they can be solved by man."	

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	b. "At this moment in history lessening of tensions is impossible. It is because the U S and the USSR stand for two antithetical concepts of the nature of man."	
	Have students react to this statement by Fulbright "In a perverse way we have grown rather attached to the Cold War. It occupies us with a seemingly clear and simple challenge from outside and diverts us from problems here at home which many Americans would rather not try to solve...."	
	Play the tape "Ideology, Morality, and Foreign Policy."	Tape KUOM #168 - "Ideology, Morality, and Foreign Policy"
	Show film "Challenges of Coexistence."	Film: "Challenges of Coexistence" U of M Film guide
		Dupl. Resource
National power is dependent on human and natural resources, technology, political cohesion, military pasture, and diplomacy.	Students will read the available resources and write on what they believe the meaning of national power is. Their assessment should then be evaluated.	Platig. U S and World Affairs. pp 40-42
	Students after reading should list the elements of power. Discuss with the pupils the fact that the sum total of all these elements doesn't take us very far in explaining the actual amount of power wielded by a state. Power can realistically be estimated only in action.	Frankel. International Relations. Chapter 4 Atwater, Forster, Prybyla. World Tensions: Conflict & Accommodation. pp 50-53, 67-70, 101-106
	Students or groups can arrange a collage depicting national power of a particular nation or nations in general.	Liska, George. Imperial America Horowitz, David. The Free World Colossus

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	Have students research elements of power and list in order what they believe to be the "top-ten" nations in power.	Fulbright. Arrogance of Power Kennan, George. American Diplomacy: 1900 to 1950 Fulbright, William. Old Myths and New Realities Chapter 2 Draper, T. Abuse of Power Teacher Resource Mills - McLaughlin. World Politics in Transitions pp. 91-97 Rostow, W W. The U S in the World Arena Sisco. "Power & Responsibil Dept. of State (dup. reso Film: "Bertrand Russel Discusses Power" U of Ill Dup. Resource Mpls. Trib. by Edward P Magon. "US Forces Are In 68 Countries"
	Invite an outside speaker to address the group on "Power Politics."	Doniver A Lund, Professor o History and Political Science, Gustavus Adolphu College.

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	Discuss the dichotomy pointed out by Gustabo Lagas between the ideology of sovereign authority and the reality of national power.	Hollins. Peace is Possible Senior Scholastic, March 21, 1968. "The U S as a Pacific Power"
There are limits to national power which may be assessed through an investigation of a specific instance (US).	Show the film "Instrument of Intervention" to review historic examples of U S intervention in the affairs of other nations and to consider the future of intervention as a basic instrument of U S foreign policy.	House of Rep. Resolved: That the U S Should Substantiall Reduce its Foreign Policy Commitments, Oct. 1966 Commager, Henry. "How Not To Be A World Power" reprint N Y Times, March 12, 1967 Foreign Policy Assn. Great Decisions 1968. "American Power and Foreign Policy" Headline Series #193, "New Directions in U S Foreign Policy"
	Listen to tape on morality and power.	Tape - "Morality & Power: The Dilemma of SE Asia" KUOM - 370
	Before showing film: Have class identify and define Monroe Doctrine, Roosevelt Corollary, Drago Doctrine, Platt Amendment, dollar diplomacy, OAS. Ask volunteers to associate each of the terms above with specific incidents in the history of US relations with Latin America.	Teacher Resource Lerche, Charles. Foreign Policy of the American People. Chapter 7 Film: "Instrument of Instruction" U of M

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	Students can get a better understanding of the question of power and its uses by role playing "American Intervention."	Dup. Resources American Intervention: Making Foreign Policy Decisions
	A discussion from reading of "what is our responsibility in world affairs? How can American power best be used to further world peace and stability? And where do we draw the line in committing US power and prestige?	Larson. "Say U S Resort to Force Has Damaged Our Interests" Des Moines Register
	The teacher should be sure to stress the concrete results that can and do flow from the broad assumptions behind foreign policy.	1968 Great Decisions Chapter 8
	One way of demonstrating the connection between principles and actions is through case studies of controversial U S involvement abroad. Choose several and ask students to identify the rationale for U S actions.	
	Organize a panel discussion or debate Resolved: "The U S should stifle all revolutionary movements which have Communist elements."	Barnet. Intervention and Revolution
	To help answer the above statement, you might initiate a discussion of the "new realities" in the Communist world. The American response to polycentrism may be illustrated by writing on the blackboard a list of Communist nations. Ask students to characterize U S relations.	
	Organize a class debate Resolved: "That the U S should substantially reduce its foreign policy commitments."	Senior Scholastic. April 4, 1968. "U S Foreign Policy Is Uncle Sam Overextended?
	Play tape "Some Disturbing Generalizations About U S Foreign Policy."	Tape: St. John. "Some Disturbing Generalizations About U S Foreign Policy." (Lincoln)

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	Distribute copies of the Great Decisions Opinion Ballot #8. Tabulate results. You may use this to measure student opinion and if given after the completion of the topic, can be an interesting culminating activity.	Great Decisions 1968
	Ask the class to recall examples of the use of intervention within the past few years.	Senior Scholastic. September 16, 1965. "U S Interventio In Latin America"
	Have a committee develop a chart showing from the birth of the American Republic to the present, intervention episodes in which the U S has been involved. Ask why the line swings upward after 1945.	
	Have student panels discuss specific intervention episodes of various countries.	
	Play tape "American Globalism."	Tape: "American Globalism" 1967 - KUOM - 267
	Invite an outside speaker to address the group on "Isolation, Intervention, and Involvement: The U S and Europe."	Reginald D Lang, Professor of International Relations Carleton College
The international perspectives of people can be interpreted psychologically, in terms of ethnocentrism or altruism.	Discuss with students "The Myth of National Mission."	Frankel. International Relations. pp 60, 65, 121, 165 Osgood, Robert. Ideals & Self-Interest In America's Foreign Relations Lerche, Charles. Foreign Policy of the American People. pp 9-11
	Play the tape "The New Isolationism."	Tape: "The New Isolationism" H H Humphrey. KUOM 301

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
The international perspective of a people can be interpreted politically in terms of isolationism or internationalism.	Show the film to develop understanding of the issue of isolation versus involvement in world affairs.	Film: "U S in a Revoluti World" U of Ill.
	Students will read the available resources and be able to define the terms: ethnocentricism, altruism, isolationism, internationalism, and neoisolationism.	Teacher Resource Almond, Gabriel. The American People and Foreign Policy. Ch. 2
	Let students each write their appraisal of the American people including their rationale. Discuss. This could be extended to have students choose and evaluate at least five countries and their international perspectives.	Lerche, Charles. Foreign Policy of the American People. Brondon, Donald. America Foreign Policy. Ch. 2 James. American Foreign Policy. p 102 Rostow, W W. The U S in the World Area
	Students will read and be able to discuss the development and changes in the American perspectives in international affairs.	Kennan. American Diplomac
	A group of students may poll the school or their class to measure student perspectives regarding isolationism, etc. Report to class.	
	A group of students may complete a bulletin board depicting American diplomatic history classified by the terms under study.	

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	Have students make a study of current proposed Congressional hearings on legislation and discuss various personalities and rationale as to isolationist leanings, etc. Comparison of political parties and their attitudes might arouse much interest.	
	Invite an outside speaker to address the group on "Nationalism and Internationalism."	Boyd C Shafer, Professor of History, Macalester College
	Test for basic concepts.	

Quarter Two

Unit IV - The Nature and Goals of Diplomacy

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
Diplomacy is a method by which nation-states attempt to facilitate international transactions, to adjust differences, or explore possibilities of action.	Students are to read available resources and be able to define diplomacy and discuss what they feel our diplomatic goals are and what they should be.	Frankel, Chapter 5 Platig, Chapter 4
	Duplicate the article, "Thoughtways of Foreign Policy." Have students or panel of students read and discuss its implications.	Wanamaker, pp 10-13, 29-31 Teacher Resources:
	A paper or oral discussion on the importance of continuity in the making of foreign policy. What are the implications for change?	Brzenzinski, The Implications of Change for U.S. Foreign Policy, Dept. of State (Dup. Resource) Miles-McLaughlin, Ch. 11,12 Rostow, E.V., American Securit in an Unstable World, Dept. of State Rusk, Dean; Guidelines of U.S. Foreign Policy, Dept. of State Rusk, Dean; Some Myths About Foreign Policy, Dept. of State Whyte, Wm., Thoughtways of Foreign Policy, Free Nation, 5-30-66
	Use filmstrip to present our five basic goals of American policy.	Filmstrip (Lincoln): U.S. and the World, Dept. of State, Tchrs. Guide, Dup. Res., Fromes 41-45
	Play tape "Some Disturbing Generalizations About U.S. Foreign Policy."	Tape (Lincoln)
	Discuss the "new diplomacy" - summit diplomacy and quiet diplomacy.	

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
Foreign policy is formulated in response to several factors; public opinion, media, government, and world situation.	Students are to read the available resource material and report on what they believe the role of public opinion is in the making of foreign policy.	Headline Series #171, Government and Public Opinion. Platig, Chapter 5
	Discuss the question of whether we really have "grass-roots" democracy.	Frankel, 133-138, 44-47
	Students will identify and be able to discuss the three public opinion groups which are the uninformed public, attentive public, and the opinion molders.	Lippmann, Public Opinion Rosenau, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy
	Organize a debate. Resolved! The American public should be the ultimate authority in major policy decisions.	Teacher Resources:
	A debate could be set on the topic: Civil disobedience and other forms of illegal protest are less effective in influencing policy than are legal means of protest. Examples could be drawn from the civil rights movement and the union struggles of the 1930's, as well as from the current Vietnam protests.	Miles-McLaughlin, Ch. 6 Lerche,pp 27-36, 119-123
	Have a panel of students or class attempt to determine how Americans felt about getting involved in each of the two world wars, Korea and Vietnam as expressed in public opinion surveys and newspaper editorials.	
	Students may research how government has responded to the opinion expressed in Activity 5. Discuss.	
	Ask students to review the section of the text entitled "Illegal--But Moral?", paying special attention to the five conditions justifying civil disobedience formulated by James R. Wiggins. Students could then be asked to use the five criteria to evaluate acts of civil disobedience against the Vietnamese war (e.g., draft-card burning, refusal to pay taxes, interference in the induction process, or refusal to serve in the armed forces). A general discussion of the justification for civil obedience in a democracy could follow. (If students disagree	Dissent, Civil Disobedience and Resistance, Jan.-Feb. 1968 Cohen, Carl: A Man May Choos The Case for Selective Pacifism, The Nation, July 8, 1968 Poirier, Richard; The War Against the Young FPA - Great Decisions, 1969

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	A discussion or debate could be based on the statement, "Civil disobedience based on conscience. . . is an act of arrogance and self-righteousness, a catering to one's own moral comfort at the expense of social order--and perhaps of the desired objective."	
	Have the pupil's investigate and discuss ways of influence such as teacher's, pickets, etc. Does protest represent more than a vocal minority and does the President have an obligation to listen and even act?	Headline Series, #190 Dissent, Democracy and Foreign Policy
	Students may play the Propaganda Game to help students read more effectively and listen more critically.	IMC - K9113, Propaganda Game
	Have students complete fallicies worksheet and discuss the importance of good analysis in reading to learn the facts.	Duplicated Material - Fallicies Worksheet
	Discuss whether American democracy is working, i.e., does it permit orderly and needed change in accordance with the desires of the majority?	
	Discuss with students whether it makes any difference to the conduct of foreign policy if the majority of citizens are informed or not about foreign affairs.	Lerche, pp 314-326
	Have students investigate what a pressure or lobby group is and list five describing their activities.	
	Show films to illustrate how facts can be twisted through propaganda.	Pollsters and Politics, Prudential Pressure Groups - U. of M.
	Show films to illustrate what public opinion is and how it can influence decision making.	Public Opinion - U. of M. From the White House to the Hill - Indiana U. Brainwashing - Prudential

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
		Propaganda in Making Foreign Policy - Indiana Univ. Information, Persuasion and Propaganda - (Lincoln) Filmstrip Book - Qualter, Propaganda and Psychological Warfare
	Students as a class or panel can discuss the role of the public opinion poll. All should be made aware of at least two.	
	Students could conduct a survey of adults in the community on the subject of individual participation in national politics. The survey could ask respondents to indicate whether they have recently (a) written a letter to a congressman or other public official; (b) signed a petition on a national issue; (c) participated in a meeting, discussion group or demonstration; or (d) written a letter to the editor of a newspaper or magazine. If students prefer to make the inquiry more specific, they could narrow the questionnaire to focus on the Vietnamese war. In this case, respondents might be asked to rate themselves as hawks or doves on the Vietnam issue; students could then attempt to make a correlation between degree of citizen participation and nature of political beliefs.	
	Discuss with the students public information about world affairs. There are many interesting facts; charts etc. in the resource guide.	Teacher Resource - Duplicated Resource (Transparencies)
	Give students any of the survey listed by Robinson and evaluate and discuss. These survey can also be used as a project of a panel or be distributed throughout the entire school/or to parents.	Robinson, Public Informatio About World Affairs

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	Give students the opinion ballot and have them complete them. This can serve as a guide to the teacher to detect strong interests and attitudes and can also serve as a culminating activity to assess student attitudinal changes. Discuss these changes or why no change.	Rogers, A Comparative Study of Informed Opinion and General Public Opinion in Minnesota On Selected Issues of U.S. Foreign Policy - U. of M. Duplicate pp 70-79^{B} Great Decisions, 1966 Duplicate Opinion Poll
	Have students research and discuss whether the media does an effective job in keeping the public informed in the field of foreign affairs. What are their responsibilities?	Reston, James; Artillery of the Press
	Have students collectively or individually construct an annotated (evaluated) bibliography of magazines, television shows, and newspapers which report International relations.	
	A student panel may report to the class on differences of reporting International news stories from source to source.	Columbia Journalist Review
	Discuss with students "How to Analyze the News".	
	Have students complete the Newspaper Worksheet.	Duplicated Resource
	Students or a panel may poll the class/school to see what media is most observed and in particular what shows of International importance.	
	Take a field trip to a local newspaper, television or radio station arranging for speakers.	
	Each student is to write and give orally a one or two minute capsule of yesterday's news. This can be an effective way of demonstrating to all the various differences of opinion in editing as to importance. Have students evaluate each others choice and reliability of reporting. Video-tape if you wish.	

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	Each student is to give orally a one or two minute commentary on some prescribed topic. (they may all be the same topic). Have the students evaluate objectively on the commentary. This may be video-taped.	
	A bulletin board may be constructed to acquaint students with vast array of newspapers and periodicals available in the area of International affairs.	
	Play tape, "The Press and American Foreign Policy."	Tape: MacDougall, The Press and American Foreign Polic KUOM-199
	Have a panel of students put together an entire news presentation from a discarded wire service teletype including a commentary, etc. Several can role play correspondents. Either film or video-tape. Show to the class and evaluate.	
	Show filmstrip to illustrate the art of news gathering.	Filmstrip: Getting the World's News, (Lincoln)
	In order to understand and be able to discuss how the world situation influences the decisions states make and the actions they take students will read from the available resources.	Platig, pp 43-44
	Discuss with students the importance of having a realistic estimate of the goals of other nations.	Committee on Foreign Affairs Modern Communications and Foreign Policy. (Phomp) Committee on Foreign Affairs Future of U.S. Public Diplomacy. (Phomp)
	Have students read and speculate on what they believe are the foreign policies of Great Britain, U.S., U.S.S.R., Red China, India. How realistic are we assessing these policies?	Frankel, Chapter 3 Wanamaker Crabb, Elephants and the Bra Fulbright, Arrogance of Powe

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
		Fairbank, U.S. and China Scholastic World Affairs Series
	In any nation the primary responsibility for assessing the world situation rests with the government. Discuss this and ask whether the government has the best situation gathering and analysis capabilities.	Chai, The Changing Society of China Steele, The American People and China
	Each student will write a short paper discribing what he believed the world situation to be and its impact. Discuss the findings.	Transparencies - Making Foreign Policy Teacher Resources - Lerche, pp 14-19
	Students may research congressional committees and report on their influence in Foreign Policy formulation.	Platig, Chapter 5 Frankel, Chapter 2
	Discuss the problems which arise when political parties are involved in influencing foreign policy. What problems does the party in power present for the President, also a member of the party.	Wanamaker, Chapter 2 Headline Series #171, pp 5-15 Department of States, How Foreign Policy is Made
	Either a group of students or the teacher may discuss "Of what importance is the military in influencing foreign policy."	Dahl, Congress and Foreign Policy
	Students will read the available resources so they are fully aware of the governmental apparatus which undertakes foreign policy formulation.	Fulbright, Arrogance of Power Senior Scholastic, U.S. Foreign Policy..Who Makes It? Dec. 2, 1965 Teacher Resources: Lerche, pp 36-60

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	You may divide up the class into groups, each to report orally on one governmental group influential in formulating foreign policy.	
	Discuss the Peace Corps, purposes and its actions in practice. A bulletin board may accompany this computed by a student/s.	Peace Corps Handbook
	Show films to aquaint students with the various government officers and offices which help to formulate foreign policy and the problems in doing so.	Films: Problems of the President in the Conduct of Foreign Policy - U. of Ill Foreign Policy In Congress - U. of Indiana Planning Our Foreign Policy U. of Ill. (Mid-East)
	Students may construct a bulletin board denoting foreign policy formulation. This can be a humorous depiction or serious. A display of cartoons can be very interesting.	
	Have a group investigate and report on the activities of the CIA.	Senior Scholastic, March 21, 1967, "The CIA"
	Briefly discuss the role of the State Dept. in making foreign policy. The majority of information on this subject will be discussed under the next concept.	
Governments have the major responsibility for administering foreign policy.	Students are to read the available resources and be able to identify the various Dept's of foreign affairs and their basic services.	Frankel, Chapter 2 Headline Series, #172 pp 18-
	The Department of State is the official channel through which the American people conduct their relations with other governments and peoples.	Dept. of State, The Country Team
	Students are to read the available resources and be able to discuss the structure of the Dept. of State, the function of the Foreign Service, duties of Sec. of State,	Platig, Chapter 5 Wanamaker, Chapter 2

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	to identify and discuss the various foreign service officials.	Headline Series, #171 pp 16-3
		Transparencies: Structure of the State Dept.
	Use filmstrip to illustrate the work of the Dept. of State.	Filmstrip: U.S. and the World Dept. of State Duplicated Teachers Manual (Lincoln)
	Discuss with the students the necessary requirements for entering Foreign Service Assignment.	Dept. of State, A Career in the Foreign Service of the United States - Teacher Resource
		Duplicated Resource: College Prep for Foreign Service
		Foreign Service Officer Information Sheet
		Career Development
		Training of Foreign Service Officers
		The Foreign Service Institut
		Foreign Service Schedule of Courses
		Foreign Service Area and Country Study
		Foreign Service Guide
	Show film to give understanding of the training of a Foreign Service Officer.	Film: Training of a Diplomat - U. of Indiana

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	Write to the Dept. of State to obtain a sample copy of the Foreign Service Exam administered to pupils. This can do much to boost their confidence in educational standards set forth by the State Dept.	
	Have students read available resources and be able to discuss problems of reform in the Dept. of State. i.e., Ambassadorial Problems.	Headline Series #171 pp 22-28 Simson, Anatomy of the State Dept. Helsman, To Move A Nation
	Show films to illustrate ways in which the U.S. Government (Dept. of State) works in foreign countries.	Film: The Unending Struggle - IMC F4106 Duplicated Resources - Discussion Guide
	A panel may discuss whether they believe our foreign representatives are qualified.	Tape: Making of Foreign Policy - Kissinger KUOM-274
	A group may report on the fiction concerning our foreign service. Contrast their findings with the so called realities.	Burdick and Lederer, The Ugly American Lederer, Nation of Sheep Lerche, pp 36-60 Teacher Resource: Dept. of State, Your Dept. of State Films: Mr. Secretary - U. of Indiana Federal Government: The Dept. of State - U. of Ill.

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
A study of actual cases in diplomacy can help us to recognize the available alternative courses of action.	Students are to investigate an actual case in requiring diplomatic decision making. Let them read the available literature and then discuss the problems involved in making decisions.	See Great Decisions for an up to date focus on countries, areas or major foreign policy issues. Discuss alternative courses of action. Teacher Resource - International Dimensions in the Social Studies, Ch. 12 - N.C.S.S. Dept. of State, Issues in U.S. Foreign Policy #1 The Middle East - Discussion Guide Included See duplicated material at end of unit. Transparencies: Duplicated Resource - Set on Mid East Crisis Dept. of State, U.S. Policy in the Near East Crisis Duplicated Resource - A Sample Case in International Affairs: Introduction in the Dominican Crisis? See end of unit Rusk, Anatomy of the Foreign Political Decisions (Phomp) Kissinger, American Foreign Policy and Vietnam - KUOM-30 Tran Van Dinh, U.S. Policy in Vietnam - KUOM-273

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	Students are to divide a paper into two columns. Label one column "support" and the other column "opposition." Now summarize the different arguments used by those who favor and those who oppose current U.S. policy in the Dominican Republic.	Tapes: U.S. in Vietnam, U. of M. KUOM-181 Vietnam, U. of M. KUOM-169 American Policies in Vietnam, KUOM-221 American Failure to Assist Social Revolution in S.E. Asia - KUOM-268 Conflict for Israel - Lincoln Are the Arabs All Wrong - Lincoln Cuba: The Missle Crisis - U. of Ill. Planning Our Foreign Policy (Problems of the Middle East) - U. of Ill. The Struggle for Peace: Contro of Crisis - U. of Ill. From Where I Sit - Dept. of State Kennedy, J. F., The Strategy of Peace - Instruc. Res. James, American Foreign Policy
	ROLE-PLAYING	REFERENCE MATERIALS
	An interesting game can be played by dividing the students into five groups of participants to consider the problems	Middle East: Tricontinental Hub, a bibliographic survey

Objectives

Activities

involved in negotiating the settlement of some specific issue. For the advanced class the exercise might be the overall issue of a permanent settlement of the Arab-Israel problem. Or, more limited issues might be "gamed," such as:

- Rehabilitation of the Suez Canal and access to all states.
- Internationalization of the Canal or of Jerusalem.
- Possible Arab concessions for Israeli restoration of various conquered Arab territories.
- Establishment of U.N. military presence in belligerent areas.
- Negotiation of settlements of problems between Israel and individual Arab states.
- Agreement between the world's powers to limit the flow of offensive weapons to both sides.

These examples are not in any sense intended as policy positions, but merely exercises to demonstrate the factors influencing the situation in the Middle East. The teacher may well devise more interesting and provocative issues to be "gamed."

The grouping of students might be as follows:

Arab leaders from major oil-producing states, Arab leaders from major non-oil-producing states, Israeli leaders, Communist leaders, NATO leaders. Each of these teams can be divided, in turn into two groups: 1) negotiators, and 2) policy planners. Policy planners would write a position paper spelling out long-range interest, grand strategy, the immediate requirements of their respective interests, and a range of concessions (no initial offers) which may be made without jeopardizing fundamental interests. With the position papers in hand, negotiating teams may then meet and try to discover through

Instructional Resources

compiled by research analysts of the U.S. Army Library; Department of the Army Pamphlet No. 550-2-1; can be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. Price: $6.00. 266 pages plus an excellent map packet.

Periodicals -

Department of State Bulletin A weekly magazine averaging 40 pages--the official record of U.S. foreign policy, including key policy statements, texts, transcripts, and special articles by experts. Subscription: 52 issues, domestic $16, foreign $23, Single copy 30 cents. The Bulletin may be ordered from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Foreign Policy Briefs: A single-sheet summary, issued biweekly, of important foreign policy developments and background. Suitable for easy reference, looseleaf filing, or bulletin-board posting. Subscription: 26 issues, domestic $1.25, foreign $2.25. For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington,D.C.

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	bargaining what they have in common and what are their differences. Than they may negotiate their differences. Sooner or later they might arrive at a partial solution but remaining differences might seem irreducible. At this stage they should return to their policy-planning team to determine whether adjustments can be made in the position paper to facilitate negotiations without cutting into fundamental interests. A student should represent the United Nations and preside over the negotiating sessions. Assume that the U.N. position is simply to support any solution agreed on by the other parties. The U.N. chairman can serve as an intermediary if one party wishes to sound out another about issues which are still too delicate to raise in the presence of all negotiating parties.	Background Notes Series: Short, factual pamphlets about various countries and territories, written by officers in the Department of State's geographic bureaus. Each pamphlet includes information on the country's land, people, history, government, political conditions, economy, and foreign relations. Included also is a map and a brief reading list.
	A variety of role-playing situations could be assigned: (a) Several students, playing the part of rabid Castro supporters, could harangue the class on the peaceful intentions of the Cuban revolution toward the U.S. and the malevolence of the U.S. government in return; the class would then be called upon to refute (or support) the Castroites.	The following Background Notes on Middle Eastern countries may be ordered from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, for 10¢ each (add 25 percent for foreign mailing). Orders of 100 or more of the same Note sent t the same address are sold at a 25 percent discount. A list of the 154 Notes comprising the complete series, as well as information on obtaining a collected volume and/or a subscription service covering updated Notes, is also available from the Superintendent of Documents. Algeria (pub. 7821) Bahrain (pub. 8013) Greece (pub. 8198)

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
		Iran (pub. 7760) Iraq (pub. 7975) Israel (pub. 7752) Jordan (pub. 7956) Kuwait (pub. 7855) Lebanon (pub. 7816) Libya (pub. 7815) Morocco (pub. 7954) Muscat and Oman (pub. 8070) Saudi Arabia (pub. 7835) Southern Yemen (pub. 8368) Sudan (pub. 8022) Syria (pub. 7761) Trucial Shaikhdoms (pub. 7901) Tunisia (pub. 8124) Turkey (pub. 7850) United Arab Republic (pub. 8152) Yemen (pub. 8170) Pamphlets - The following can be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402: The Middle East--An Indefinable Region, a survey by the Department of State's Geographer; Dept. of State pub. 7684; 12 pages, 2 maps; 10¢. The United States and the Middle East, Dept. of State pub. 7706; 8 pages, 1 map; 10¢.

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
		United States Policy in the Near East Crisis, official U.S. statements and U.N. resolutions, May 23-July 14, 1967; Dept. of State pub. 8269; 24 pages, 1 map; 20¢. Audiovisual Materials - The Department of State has prepared a number of audio-visual materials dealing in whole or in part with the Middle East, which can usefully supplement the "Issues" paper on the Middle East: Tape Recordings: 1. The United States and the Middle East. (Available by December 1968) A tape-recorded briefing, containing a number of statements and answers to questions on U.S. policy in the Middle East by State Department officers (15 minutes). 2. The Foreign Aid Program. (13 minutes.) A tape-recordec briefing by William S. Gaud, Administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development, who describes the background and goals of our economic assistance programs to the developing nations, including those of the Near East.

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
		3. Department of State Reports. A monthly series of five-minute tape-recorded features highlighting current international developments and the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service (four features each month.) Briefing tapes with individual discussion guides are available from educational materials distributors in each state. To obtain a list write to: Distribution Services Division, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520. Write the same address for a free subscription to "Department of State Reports." Films - 1. In Search of Peace (16mm, 29 minutes, black and white) The official film statement of the long-rage goals of United States foreign policy, featuring interviews with U.S. officials and documentary footage filmed abroad. 2. From Where I Sit (16mm, 27 minutes, black and white) An inquiry into the anatomy of foreign policy decision-making illustrated by two current foreign policy issues and concluding with a review of some critical decisions the United has made over the past 20 years.

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
		3. The World at U.N. Plaza (16mm, 29 minutes, color). An inside look at the work of the United States "embassy" to the United Nations Highlights include glimpses of behind-the-scenes United Nations diplomacy and recollections of the Security Council debates during the 1967 Middle East crisis. Department of State films may be borrowed from the Office of Media Services, Room 5819A, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520. A discussion guide is available for each film. Abel, The Missile Crisis London, Making of Foreign Policy East and West Frankel, Making of Foreign Policy, An Analysis of Decision Making American Assembly, The U.S. and The Middle East Alger, The United States in the United Nations. building Jones, S. S., America's Role in the Middle East. building

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
		Armstrong, *Southeast Asia and American Policy*. building Blanksten, *The United States Role in Latin America*. per building. Deutsch, Harold; *The New Europe*, *The Common Market* $.75 40 copies per building. Rosberg, *Africa and the World Today*, Laidlaw. Kublin, *India and the World Today*, Laidlaw. Scalapino, *Japan - Ally in the Far East*, Laidlaw. *The Truth About Vietnam*, U.S. Senate Hearings Horowitz, *The Free World Colossus* Emerson, *African and U.S. Policy* Wilcox, *Asia and U.S. Policy* Kahin and Lewis, *The U.S. in Vietnam* Committee on Foreign Affairs, May 10, 1966; *U.S. Policy Toward Asia*. (Phomp)

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
		World Affairs Workshop Series New York Times Walz, The Middle East Nielsen, Africa Durdin, S.E. Asia Salisbury, The Soviet Union Schwartz, Communist China Karpat, The Middle East and North Africa Burke, Sub-Saharan Africa Wanamaker, American Foreign Policy Today
	One of the best ways of integrating one's knowledge of world affairs is to prepare on analysis of some international problem, together with a recommended line of policy for the solution of it. Putting oneself in the position of a government official in the Dept. of State, for example, who has to formulate American foreign policy, is an extremely realistic way of studying and understanding that policy.	Foreign Policy Association, Great Decisions See duplicated resources at end of unit for a more detailed exploration.
	Use a simulation game to bring students to an awareness of the complexities of decision-making.	Inter-Nation Simulation - IMC Diplomacy - IMC-K9181
	Consult Project Social Studies guide which details books, periodicals, etc. related to policy decisions.	Project Social Studies, Grade 12
	Have students research a current crisis using available materials and also writing to various policy formulators both American and foreign.	See Statesmen's Yearbook and U.S. Government Organizational Manual for current leaders and addresses.

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	Invite various outside speakers to express their views on the case in study. Conduct the session much like a congressional hearing if you wish. Students then should be prepared with questions to ask.	See duplicated resource for speakers guide.
	Teacher should read several sources on the simulation game (a) The class could stage a congressional hearing to decide whether the U.S. should extend diplomatic recognition to the Castro government. (b) Students could stage a congressional hearing to decide whether the U.S. government should apologize to the Cuban people for its conduct toward them during the years 1898-1959 (or 1934-59, or 1959-68).	International Dimensions in the Social Studies National Council for the Social Studies, Chapter 11

Quarter Two

Unit V - Methods of Control in International Relations

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
The disasters of war and the rising expectations by the people necessitate the improvement of methods of international control.	Students are to read the available resources so they may be able to define international control and trace its need and development.	Frankel, pp 153-156 Atwater, Forster, & Prybyla, pp 336-338 Brandon, Chapter 11 Hollins, Peace is Possible, Chapter 1
A study of cases in international agreement /or international law can help us to understand the importance of international law/or agreement to the maintainance of peace.	The student will read the available resources and report what he believes international law is, whether it exists, and its future.	World Without War, pp 147-182 Frankel, pp 192-196 World Law Fund, Cases in World Order
	- Invite an outside speaker to address the group.	See speaker guide under duplicated resources. You may also contact The World Federalists.
	Based on reading of both the Clark-Sohn plans and Louis Lusky critique of that plan, conduct a dialogue or informal debate on the issue of establishing a world law system.	Films: World Peace Through Law - U. of Indiana World Law - U. of M. The Hat - U. of M. The Hole - U. of M. Hollins, pp 108-140, 199-218

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	Which of Louis Sohn's five "interim steps" toward a world peace system do you regard as the least controversial? In your view how many of these proposals would be acceptable right now to the American people?	Teacher Resources: NCSS - International Dimensions in the Social Studies, Chap. 10
	• In attempting to achieve your own personal or community goals, do you wait for everything to fall into place at once or do you proceed step-by-step? (Give specific examples from your own experience). Does each successful step toward achievement of a final goal encourage you to take another? Does each success make the final goal seem more realizable? Does each success in fact make the goal more attainable?	Mills-McLaughlin, Chapter 14
	• How would Sohn's immediate steps fit into the world peace system which he and Grenville Clark have projected? Does each piece ultimately become part of the whole plan?	
	Why does Saul Mendlovitz believe that it is necessary to take a "big-step" approach rather than a "gradualist" approach in establishing a war-prevention system? Why does he believe that the big-step might be the more appealing and the more feasible approach? Note instances in your own experience where taking a big step has been the most effective way of dealing with a problem.	Hollins, pp 302-326
	• What do you think of the statement on disarmament by Albert Einstein (Editor's note, pp 312-313) in which he says that while "most objects are gained step by step," in relation to achieving this goal, "we are concerned with an objective which cannot be reached step by step . . . . (people) will disarm at one blow or not at all?"	
	The student may express through a written assignment or a class discussion these questions listed above.	
	The cornerstone of much U.S. foreign policy for Latin America seems to have been the Monroe Doctrine. There are a number of questions which could be explored concerning that document: (a) Is the Monroe Doctrine a recognized law in the courts of the U.S.? Would it be	

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	accepted in the World Court as a bona fide international statute? (b) Do other governments in the Western Hemisphere officially agree with the Monroe Doctrine? (c) Do you think that the U.S. has the right to act as the "policeman" of the Western Hemisphere? (d) If the U.S. were to intervene in some Latin American country and seek to justify such action on the basis of the Monroe Doctrine, would the U.S. have violated the charters of the United Nations or the Organization of American States?	
Case studies can be used to show that the belief in the concept of "balance of power," is fast becoming obsolete.	Students will read the available resources so as to be able to define "balance of power" and to understand its history.	Tapes: International Law as Seen by Communist and Underdeveloped Nations - KUOM-145 World Law , KUOM-170 Frankel, pp 156-172 Gareau, Balance of Power and Nuclear Deterrents
	Students will read the available sources to help them analyze the shortcoming of "balance of power" as an effective means of international control.	Rostow,, American Security in An Unstable World - (phomp) Headline Series #193 - New Directions In U.S. Foreign Policy
	Organize a student discussion or debate resolved: The concept of "balance of power" is obsolete.	Atwater, Forster, Pryhyla - pp 54-55, 68-71, 104-105, 289-291. Horowitz, pp 368-381 Teacher Resource: Mills-McLaughlin, Cole, pp 291 300.

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	A panel can discuss with the aid of transparencies the shift in world balance of power at 25 year intervals. Can they predict with some qualification what will happen in the next twenty-five years?	Fulbright, Old Myths and New Realities. Wright, A Study of War Films: World Balance of Power - U. of M. Confrontation - U. of M., see duplicated resource for film guide. World Balance of Power - U. of Illinois
The policy of Containment should not be a panacea for the United States.	Have the students read the available resources so they can define "containment" and discuss its evolution.	Great Decisions - 1966, 1967 Wanamaker, pp 46-48 James, pp 119-121, 125-127 Brandon, Chapter 7
	Have the class research the following questions and prepare a brief written report that brings them together into one theme: The Value of Containment. a) How did the policy of containment come into existence? b) How did that policy become an issue in the 1952 campaign? c) How did the candidates react to the use of that policy? d) How has the policy survived since?	Films: Confrontation - U. of M., see duplicated resource for film guide. Struggle for Peace: The Rise of China - U. of Ill. Oglesby and Shoull, Containment and Change.
	Have the students select several significant examples of the American containment policy in action. Ask them to evaluate each in terms of a) appropriateness to the situation b) method of application, and c) success or failure of the policy.	Teacher Resource - Lerch, pp 195, 198-200, 351-352 Rostow, W. W.; pp 221-222, 305

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	General MacArthur and President Truman engaged in a classic disagreement over the general validity of the containment policy. The President interpreted it in a manner that equated the Korean stalemate with a successful program of containing Communist expansion. The General rejected that conclusion, arguing that containment does not preclude the need for total military victory. Divide the class into two groups and have each defend one of the above positions.	Kennan, Realities of America Foreign Policy Horowitz, American Diplomacy 1900-1950
Case studies can show how alliances for collective security are subject to change.	See activities under Unit III.	See sources under Unit III.

Quarter Two

Unit VI - International Organizations of Control

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
History can show us the evolutionary nature of the development of international organizations of control.	Students should read the available resources and be able to trace the development of international organizations of control, define international organization, and show need.	Frankel, pp 182-215 Alger, The U.S. in the Unite Nations - Chapter 1 Brandon, Chapter 11 Teacher Resources - NCSS - Chapter 5 Lerche,pp 237-238, 240-242 Mills-McLaughlin, Chapter 15
In order to reduce political tension, promote economic growth, and assume common defense, a number of regional international organizations have come into being.	One way to begin the discussion of NATO is to make certain that all students are familiar with the countries that are included under its umbrella. A number of companies have produced maps of Europe that indicate the nations that belong to NATO and those that belong to the Warsaw pact--the alliance of Communist states in Eastern Europe. A useful way to study the NATO alliance geographically is through the use of a polar projection map. Such a map, with the North Pole in the center, makes clear the importance of Canadian and American participation in NATO in a way that the Mercator projection cannot. Students should read the available resources so they can discuss motivation for regional-international organizations and be aware of their existence. Some critics of NATO have suggested that the NATO alliance has outlived its usefulness and should be put to rest. You may wish to explore this question with your students by organizing a debate on the topic: "Resolved: The NATO Alliance Should Be Dissolved." Four students might be chosen to present the debate before the class, two students presenting the affirma-	Frankel, pp 24-28 Deutsch, The New Europe, The Common Market, and The United States. Atwater, Forster and Prybyla Chapter 9. Wanamaker, pp 53-59, 61-71 James, pp 122-130 (NATO) cas study Great Decisions, 1967 - "NAT in Crisis" Great Decisions, 1966 - "End of the Alliance?"

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	tive side of the debate and two the rebuttal.	
	Allow each student five minutes for his constructive speech and two minutes for his rebuttal. While the debate is taking place, the rest of the students should listen carefully, taking notes in order that they may ask questions or challenge statements when the debate has ended. After the close of the debate, the four debaters may be transformed into a panel. They will answer questions and accept challenges to their positions from their classmates.	Laidlaw Series - see duplicated bibliography. Teacher Resources - Lerche, pp 233-237 Mills-McLaughlin, pp. 373-37
	The entire Fact Sheet may be useful to the debaters in preparing their cases, but the third section, pages 77-79, is especially relevant to this topic. The debaters should also be encouraged to use books, newspapers and magazine articles available to them in your school library.	
	The success of the debate depends upon the care and attention each speaker gives to constructing his five-minute speech. You should ask him to give the speech to you prior to his presenting it before the class. If he has not prepared sufficiently, suggest ways he can improve his speech before he is allowed to give it to the class. Students will not, obviously, derive much benefit from the debate if it has been poorly prepared.	Rostaw, pp 77-85, 324-329 Write Europeon Community Information Service for up to date facts. Write NATO Information Servi for up to date facts.
	You may use the opinion ballot to begin a discussion of NATO and as a culminating activity such as a panel discussion.	Duplicated Resource, Nato in Crisis, opinion ballot
	THE COMMON MARKET	
	The Common Market represents one of Europe's most recent attempts to translate new realities into new institutions. But despite its *economic* successes, the Common Market is now facing difficult problems. At their root lies a basic conflict of philosophy: the supranationalist position of the Eurocrats versus the nationalism of de Gaulle. In order to clarify the issues involved, you might have your students compare the state of Europe today with the	

Objectives

Activities

Instructional Resources

American colonies as they existed under the Articles of Confederation. What rights and powers was each colony willing to surrender to the central government? What powers did they insist upon keeping for themselves?

The issue of sovereignty versus interdependence, especially as it concerns the future of the Common Market, may lend itself to a panel discussion, with one side representing de Gaulle's neonationalism and the other side, the supranationalism of the Eurocrats. As a starting point for discussion, you might use the following statement made by Christian Herter in *Intercom*, March-April 1965, p. 21: "We hear a good deal nowadays about divisions, and even 'disarray,' in the free world. But the more I consider the time in which we live, the more I regard all such manifestations of old and new nationalisms as eddies--sometimes reaching the intensity of whirlpools--roiling the surface but not reflecting the main current of our times. That current is bearing the peoples of the free world steadily toward interdependence."

This statement by Herter pinpoints one of the great political debates of our times, and a discussion of the statement should enable students to start thinking about the issue of interdependence, not only *vis-à-vis* the Common Market and the Atlantic community, but also in relation to the world at large. Is nationalism really obsolete in the contemporary world? Ask your students if they would favor the abandonment by the U.S. of some of its sovereignty as a condition for participating in an Atlantic community.

The spectacle of the "current disarray among the Western nations" may indeed come as a shock to many people; but it may be less incomprehensible once it is understood that alliances among nations differ from friendships between individuals. The paragraphs on page 30 describing the birth and growth of the Atlantic alliance may provide a good starting point for a discussion of the forces that bind nations together. To what extent

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	did emotional and cultural ties contribute to the strength of Atlantic unity? To what degree were the common experiences of two world wars responsible for the formation of the alliance? What kinds of benefits did both the United States and Western Europe see in a friendly alliance? By asking students to compare these factors with the factors that create personal friendships, you may be better able to show what an important role self-interest plays in bringing nations together and what a devastating effect its absence has upon the stability of alliances. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) stands as a concreate expression of the Western alliance; however, the difficulties it is experiencing serve as an illustration of the severe strains affecting the alliance. NATO also serves to exemplify the way in which political institutions, once established, tend to perpetuate themselves in their original form long after changing conditions have made this form obsolete. Eventually, when the disparity becomes too great, the institutions must be replaced or abandoned. There are several ways you might illustrate this point. The Security Council of the U.N. furnishes one example: when the U.N. was founded, it was thought that the chief World War II allies (the U.S., Britain, France, Nationalist China and the U.S.S.R.) would act as world peace-keepers through the Security Council. With the advent of the cold war, however, this assumption was shattered; the Security Council was rendered virtually impotent, and some of its functions were taken over by the General Assembly. Another example perhaps more familiar to students, is the recent reapportionment decision of the U.S. Supreme Court, stating, in effect, that state legislatures which were designed for a predominantly rural nation must now readjust in order accurately to reflect the conditions of an urban society. The cartoon, "I was everyone's pet during the burglar scare," might also be used as a basis of a discussion of the new Europe and the old NATO.	

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
		Films: The U.S. and Western Europe, Dept. of State The Changed Face of Europe, Dept. of State Why NATO - Air Force Film Lib. European Economic Community, U. of Illinois Mr. Europe and the Common Market, U. of Illinois NATO: Action for Defense, U. of Illinois American Government: The U.S. and the Common Market, U. of Illinois Alliance for Peace, U. of Minn.
	Military alliances represent another aspect of international co-operation. Describe one of the regional alliances to which the United States belongs. Consider these factors in your report: "What major developments led to the formation of the alliance? To what extent is the United States committed to the defense of member countries? To what extent are member countries legally obligated to defend the United States? To what extent are they morally bound to come to our defense? What functions, other than military, does the alliance have?"	
	Patterns of economic confederation and military alliance in Latin America and Western Europe can also be compared. What are the similarities and differences	Transparencies - Cento EEC and EFTA Members

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	between NATO and the OAS? One important difference which should be noted is that NATO was formed as a military alliance and has gradually assumed nonmilitary functions, whereas the OAS began as a political and cultural organization and is assuming military functions.	*Institutions of European Communities* *NATO*
	Is the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA) comparable to the European Common Market? What is a trade association? What is a customs union? What does the U.S. stand to gain through the formation of a customs union in Latin America? in Western Europe? What difficulties might a strong and cohesive LAFTA pose for the U.S.?	*Structure of the Alliance*, NATO
	1. The class could stage a meeting of all NATO members to discuss the restructuring of NATO to promote more equal partnership between the U.S. and European nations. The student(s) representing the U.S. should be prepared to argue the opposite case: that close Atlantic ties and greater U.S. leadership are vital to European security.	Duplicated Resources - *Cento* - Dept. of State *The Common Market and Its Potential Effects on the U*
	2. Several students might stage a congressional hearing on U.S. defense spending in Europe, including as participants Lt. Gen. James M. Gavin (advocate of reduced troop commitments in Europe); Ronald Steel (author who urges disbanding of NATO); and the Secretary of Defense (who would keep NATO strong).	*European Unification: A Historical Necessity* *Provisions of EEC* *Organization of Western Euro* Dept. of State, *NATO*
	3. Ask six students, each representing one of the present members of the Common Market, to hold a meeting in which Britain's application for admission is on the agenda. A seventh student could argue the British case for admission.	
	4. The class could be divided into six committees, each of which is assigned one of the six blueprints for Europe given in the text. The committees could then attempt to answer such questions as (a) How realistic is this blueprint in the light of present trends? (b) How desirable is it from the American point of view? the European point of view?	*Great Decisions*, 1969 Teacher Resources - NATO Information Service, *The First Twenty Years* *Defense Policy*

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
		Chronology 1945-1969 Dept. of State Bulletin, April 28, 1969 NATO: Twenty Years of Cooperation for Peace
The U.N. and its agencies provides a case study of the most truly International Organization of control in existence today.	Pretest with factual knowledge survey. Provide each student with a mimeographed copy of the opinionnaire. Allow about 15 minutes for the survey. Discuss the opinionnaire in class so that students can clarify and defend their views. Give the opinionnaire again at the end of the unit. Student should be encouraged to see why their views have changed or remained the same. In the second survey, ask students to check those items for which they still need additional data before taking a stand. They should also mark those statements which did not satisfy them in terms of alternatives presented. Thus, this exercise enables the student to analyze his own views, and at the same time, to evaluate the opinions presented in the survey. An assignment for slower students might be for them to identify all U.N. military operations on a world map. 1. *United States views toward the United Nations in 1945.* On July 23, 1945, Senator Arthur Vandenberg defended the United Nations Charter in the United States Senate as follows: "....The United States retains every basic attribute of its sovereignty. We cannot be called to participate in any sort of sanctions, military or otherwise, without our free and untrammeled consent. We cannot be taken into the World Court except at our own free option. The ultimate disposition of enemy territory which we have captured in this war is dependent solely upon our will so far as this Charter is concerned. Our	Duplicated Resource: Alger, The U.S. in the U.N. See duplicated bibliography Hollins. Atwater, Forster, and Prybyla. Horowitz. Wanamaker, Chapter 7 Frankel, Chapter 7 Wright, A Study of War United Nations Association, China the U.N. and U.S. Policy.

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	domestic questions are eliminated from the new organization's jurisdiction. Our inter-American system and the Monroe Doctrine are unimpaired in their realities. Our right of withdrawal from the new organization is absolute, and is dependent solely upon our own discretion. In a word, Mr. President, the flag stays on the dome of the capitol." (Congressional Record, Vol. 91, Part 6).	Films: The World At U.N. Plaza, Dept. of State The U.N. in a Revolutionary World - U. of Indiana Power Among Men, Louis de Rochemont Associates The Charter: The U.N. - Its Charter and Organizatic U. of Illinois The Struggle for Peace: Unite Nations, U. of Illinois United Nations in Korea, U. of Minn. United Nations: Organization for Peace, U. of Minn. See U.N. 16mm film guides-Duplicated Resource. Speakers - See speaker guide (duplicated resource Filmstrips: United Nations Organization, (Lincoln)

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	a. Match each point which Senator Vandenberg makes regarding the sovereignty of the United States with the chapter or article in the United Nations Charter which provides a safeguard for our freedom of action.	Peace-Keeping: U.N. Business, (Lincoln) This is accompanied by record and discussion guide.
	b. One or two students might wish to report on the views of Americans who opposed the United Nations in 1945.	
	c. In 1940 Senator Vandenberg had been the foremost isolationist candidate for the Republican presidential nomination. What was isolationism? What were some of the major geographical, sociological, and political factors which led Americans to believe that they did not have to become involved in world politics, and more especially in European politics?	
	How are resolutions passed in the United Nations? Make a chart which shows the passage of the resolution in the United Nations. In order to indicate relationships among United States governmental organizations, choose a resolution conceived by the Department of State.	
	Write to the Department of Information, United States Mission to the United Nations, 799 United Nations Plaza, New York, New York, for data.	
	"Ethical rules have their seat in the consciences of individual men. Government by clearly identifiable men who can be held personally responsible for their acts is therefore the precondition for the existence of an effective system of international ethics." (Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*, p. 226.)	
	Do you agree with Professor Morgenthau's view that the ethics of individual world leaders determine the development of a system of international ethics? Or, do you think that a system of international ethics will evolve, and then leaders will be forced by world public opinion to adhere to moral pressures? Defend your argument by drawing examples from current international leaders.	

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	The United Nations in the Congo. ". . . In theory, one might suppose that United Nations intervention would be generally welcomed by a nervous world as a preferable alternative to the drawing of individual foreign powers into the 'vacuum' created by a local conflict. At moments of general alarm, such as prevailed when the two U.N. forces were first sent into Sinai and the Congo, this may be true. But the Congo story has shown how, once the first panic has diminished, partisan interests reassert themselves. Almost by definition, if the U.N. intervention accurately reflects the interests of the world community as a whole, it cannot satisfy any one of the rival contending interests, domestic or external; this is why Mr. Hammarskjold, trying to hew to a rigidly impartial line in the Congo, has been successively, at times even simultaneously attacked by Russians, Belgians, and Egyptians, as well as by each of the domestic factions, and has now been driven to utter warnings that the whole U.N. operation may have to be ended." (*The Economist*, January 7, 1961, p. 16). In July, 1960, how did the following governments first regard United Nations action in the Congo: the United States? Belgium? the Soviet Union? the United Arab Republic? What is the current policy of each of these governments toward the United Nations operation in the Congo? Define "partisan interests." What interests do Belgium, the Soviet Union, the United States, and Egypt have in the Congo? According to Tshombe, what policies are in the best interests of the Katangans? Trace the role that one of the following leaders has played in the Congo crisis: Kasavubu, Mobutu, Lumumba, Gizenga, Tshombe, Hammarskjold, and U Thant. *A Congo Chronology from January, 1959, to December 31, 1961*, and other publications about the Congo may be obtained from the Republic of the Congo, Information Bureau (Leopoldville), 244 East 46th Street, New York 17, New York.	

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	What do you think is meant by "the interests of the world community as a whole?" Do you think that this "interest" can be summed up in a single point of view? If so, how would you describe the goals of the entire international community? *The United Nations and Hungary.* Reading: *The Case of the Toppling Idol*, edited by Gerald Stourzh, Chicago: American Council for Continuing Education, 19 South La Salle Street, 1958, 54 pp., 50 cents. This booklet contains a chronology of events in the Hungarian crisis, excerpts from such sources as General Assembly records, statements by the United States President and Secretary of State, declarations of the Soviet government, and communications from Imre Nagy. A final section, "Could It Have Been Otherwise?" offers analyses by Franklin Lindsay, Salvador De Madariaga, Richard Lowenthal, and Paul E. Zinner. On the basis of factual material and varied opinions presented, the reader is asked: "If *you* had been responsible for American foreign policy at the time of the Hungarian revolution, what would YOU have done?" Ask students to present a panel discussion to the class, in which various analyses of the Hungarian crisis are described. After their presentation, panel members might ask classmates what *they* would have done. *The Revolution of Rising Expectations.* Reading: *The Underdeveloped Lands: A Dilemma of the International Lands: A Dilemma of the International Economy.* Compiled and edited by Devere E. Pentony, San Francisco: Howard Chandler, 1960. 196 pp., $1.50. Series of readings on problems of economic development.	

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	Assign articles to individual students. Problems of economic development can be presented to class in a panel discussion.	
	See also: *The Revolution of Rising Hopes*, six page discussion guide, dealing with U.N. economic assistance to underdeveloped countries, provides background material, resources for films and publications, and suggested questions under the following headings: the Need, the Objective, the Resources, and the Progress and the Problems. May be obtained from Public Liaison Division of UNESCO, United Nations, New York.	
	Hold a model meeting of the Security Council. Discuss one of the following issues: the U-2 episode; United States' deployment of Marines to Lebanon; Chinese Communist aggression in Tibet; the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland; Angola and/or Mozambique; Cyprus crisis; or one of the three issues presented in *Chapter* 5 -- Korea, Hungary, or Suez.	
	The United Nations and World Propaganda. "The propaganda possibilities of the United Nations are a double-edged knife. The Soviet Union may use the General Assembly for propagation of anti-Western views and pro-communist ideas; it may put forward assertions and arguments, and it may be persuasive in doing so. But in the United Nations a spokesman of the United States or the United Kingdom or any other nation may address the same official audience as does the Soviet representative, answer persuasive arguments persuasively, and expose false assertions and conclusions for what they are." (By Harold Courlander, *Shaping Our Times: What the United Nations Is and Does*, New York: Oceana, 1960, p. 15.)	
	What is propaganda? How does "propaganda" differ from "information?" Describe specific techniques and devices which are used in propaganda.	
	Watch several meetings of the General Assembly on television, or read speeches presented in the United	

Objectives	Activities	Instructional Resources
	Nations. Pinpoint "propaganda" devices used, state who used these techniques, and briefly analyze the speaker's intentions and points of view.	
	The United Nations and the West. "The United Nations - as an idea and as an institution--is an extension of Western ideas; of Western belief in the worth and dignity of the individual; of Western ideology. It is based on a Western parliamentary traditions. Its roots are in the Western ideal of representative government. When one stops to consider the philosophical foundation of the United Nations, it is easier to understand why Premier Khrushchev pounds the desk in frustration." (Adlai Stevenson, testifying before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, January 18, 1961.)	
	Ask students to support or refute this statement on the basis of their reading. In what ways does the United Nations reflect Western parliamentary tradition? How does the United Nations seek to promote the dignity of man? Is the United Nations as much oriented to the Western mind today as it was in 1945?	
	Have students attempt to determine how Americans felt about the United Nations in 1945, as expressed in public opinion surveys and newspaper editorials. How do American attitudes in 1945 toward the U.N. compare with American views presently?	
	A student panel can organize a debate -- Resolved: The U.N. should establish a permanent police force.	
	Students can write a brief report which describes the purpose and some of the major accomplishments of one of the Specialized Agencies.	

DUPLICATED RESOURCES

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EXAMPLE - TYPES OF PROPAGANDA

"When I am elected to office, I shall bring to the government an honest and efficient administration. I shall do all in my power to bring about further reorganization following the lines of the Hoover Report. We must lop off unneeded government workers and save every cent humanly possible. . .

"I ask you, my friends, what has my opponent done in the way of helping farmers? He has voted against price supports. He has voted to repeal the act establishing the REA. He is opposed to our long-tested program of soil conservation.

"My friends, do not believe the words of my opponent. He is a reactionary. He is a member of a fascist group which is trying to gain power in this country. We must maintain complete freedom of speech in America. We must not allow ourselves to copy the methods of the Russians who deny communist opponents the right to free speech and even the right to work. We must not allow this group of men behind my opponent to take over control of this country and run it only for the benefit of Wall Street. Return the Democrats to office, and we will carry on in the great tradition of Andrew Jackson, Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin Roosevelt. We will preserve the American way of life against all those who threaten to destroy it -- all the while they pretend to support it. Elect me to office and I pledge that I shall carry out a real campaign against communism without tossing out our constitutional guarantees of civil liberties. . .

"My friends, look at the American flag in front of you. Do you want this flag to be subordinated to some mongrel flag of a superstate? No, my friends. You do not, and I do not! I love my country. I want it to remain the most powerful nation on earth. Our country is the hope of the world. This, indeed is the American century! Beware, lest my opponent leads us down the path to defeat and disaster. . .

"And so I conclude, don't throw your vote away. Vote for the Democratic candidates. They're sure to win by a landslide vote. . .

"And now, my friends, I would like to introduce to you my wife and sons. They shared my years of struggle as a young clerk in a drugstore, while I studied evenings at night school. They shared my problems -- and small income -- while I struggled to develop a law practice. And now, they are finding the lot of a candidate's family is not a happy one. . .

UNITED NATIONS 16mm FILMS

This listing of United Nations films represents a selected group chosen for their current and historical value. It is designed for use with all audiences. Applications for television showings should be addressed to:

Film Distribution Officer
Operations and Facilities Service
Office of Public Information
United Nations, New York

WORKSHOP FOR PEACE (revised edition) 24 min., rental $7.50, sale $65.
A complete tour of the United Nations Headquarters in New York. Includes the meeting halls of the General Assembly, the Trusteeship Council, and the Security Council. Also shows the General assembly in action and how the Secretary-General and the United Nations staff carry on their day-to-day activities.

OVERTURE 9 min., rental $4, sale $45
A performance of Beethoven's Egmont Overture by the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, illustrated by appropriate scenes showing the effects of war and United Nations efforts to aid recovery and reconstruction (1958).

THE GOLDEN GATE 10 min., rental $2.50, sale $32.50
A record of the ceremonies at San Francisco commemorating the tenth anniversary of the signing of the United Nations Charter on June 26, 1945, with highlights from talks by leading world figures (1955).

THE CHALLENGE OF MALARIA 14 min., rental $4, sale $32.50
Shows the malaria eradication campaign now under way in Iraq and the growing problem of mosquito resistance to insecticides. With an explanation by Dr. E. J. Pampana (Chief of the WHO Malaria Section) of the need for complete eradication of the disease. Accompanied by an unusual musical score. Produced by the World Health Organization (1957).

QUESTION IN TOGOLAND 20 min., color, rental $10, sale $135
A pictorial report showing how a United Nations supervised plebiscite brought Togoland into the newly-formed state of Ghana, with a close view also of life in this region of Africa (1957).

UNITED NATIONS, NEW YORK , The Story of the U.N. Postage Stamps. 13½ min., rental $2.50, sale $32.50. Shows the designing and manufacture of the first international postage stamps in history, and how stamps are used and sold at United Nations Headquarters (1952).

WINGED WORLD 10 min., rental $2.50,sale $32.50
Shows how the International Civil Aviation Organization, a specialized agency of the United Nations, has established uniform controls and safety standards for two-thirds of the nations of the world (1953).

THIS IS THE CHALLENGE 10 min., rental $2.50, sale $32.50
In commemoration of United Nations Day, this film shows the disastrous effects of wars during the 20th century and how people can and must work together for peace (1952).

THREE OF OUR CHILDREN 30 min., rental $4.50, sale $75
Shows how the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) brings food, clothing, health, and comfort to three children in Europe, Africa and the Far East (narrated by James Mason) (1956).

DANISH CHILDREN BUILD GREEK SCHOOL 10 min., rental $2.50, sale $32.50
An American boy learns how students in Denmark contributed money and their own labor to Construct under guidance of the United Nations, a school in a Greek village (1953).

FIRST STEPS 11 min., rental $2.50, sale $32.50
Shows how a crippled child, with the help of modern rehabilitation techniques and devoted attention from therapists, is able to walk again. (Academy Award winner, 1947).

LONDON CENTER CHECKS INFLUENZE AND U.N. LABORATORY AIDS FIGHT ON OPIUM SMUGGLING (originally issued as Screen Magazine No. 6) 10 min., rental $2.50, sale $32.50 Two important activities of United Nations bodies demonstrate the value of international cooperation to ensure better health for all (1951).

MAPS WE LIVE BY 17 min., rental $4, sale $65
A history of maps from ancient times to today's space age, describing the new techniques of aerial photography and radar soundings of ocean depths, and underlining the need to co-ordinate world-wide cartographic services (1948).

MIRACLE IN JAVA 28½ min.,rental $7.50, sale $65
Shows how a doctor in South-east Asia, with the help of United Nations agencies and specialists, organized his country's first rehabilitation center for crippled and limbless children and adults. This film was narrated by Edward R. Murrow (1957).

AFGHANISTAN MOVES AHEAD 10 min., rental $2.50, sale $32.50
Shows how, with the help of knowledge and skills of United Nations technical assistance experts, many new industrial and agricultural projects have been undertaken in this rugged Asian country (1952).

PHILIPPINES - SOCIAL PROGRESS 10 min., rental $2.50, sale $32.50
Shows how the people of this island-nation have been helped to better health and education by United Nations agencies and through their own initiative (1953).

THE FISHERMAN OF QUINTAY 10 min., rental $2.50, slae $32.50
Shows how the people of a small fishing village in Chile, with the help of United Nations experts, formed a selling and buying cooperative (1953).

THE LONG JOURNEY Post-war Recovery for Korea 30 min., rental $7.50, sale $65
Centered around the life of an uprooted Korean farmer and his family, this shows how the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency and the Korea Civil Assistance Command have worked with the Korean Government to rebuild the shattered country and rehabilitate its people (1955).

THAILAND'S STREAMS OF LIFE 10 min., rental $2.50, sale $32.50
Shows how Thailand's well-established system of canals and irrigation is studied and charted by United Nations technical assistance experts so that other nations can learn from the system (1952).

YUGOSLAVIA TODAY 10 min., rental $2.50, sale $32.50
Shows illustrations of how this country has been helped by the United Nations technical assistance programme in agriculture and industry (1955).

UNITED NATIONS IN KOREA 30 min., rental $7.50, sale $65.00
A historical documentary showing step-by-step how the conflict in Korea began, what the United Nations did to try to prevent it, and how, for the first time in history, an invading army was met by resistance of the armed forces sent by an international organization pledged to secure the conditions of peace (1953).

RURAL NURSE 20 min., rental $4, sale $65
The story of a group of young nurses entering an isolated area of El Salvador and, with the help of their government and United Nations agencies, making a number of improvements to safeguard the health of children and adults (1954).

THE INTERNATIONAL ATOM 26 min., rental $10, sale $150.
Reviews some of the peaceful uses of atomic energy in various parts of the world. Describes the varied uses of radio-active isotopes in agriculture, industry, and medicine. Especially suited to junior technical, educational and group showings. Blue Ribbon Award winner at the 1961 American Film Festival in New York (1961). (color)

YOURS IN GOOD HEALTH 25 min., rental $5, sale $65
Filmed episodes around the world illustrate how the United Nations and its specialized agencies work to help children grow up to healthy adulthood, by learning basic health rules and good dietary practices.

WATER 14½ min., rental $7.50, sale $135
A pictorial exposition of the problem of water supply. Makes the point that there is as much water in the world as there ever was but that increasing demands and increasing pollution have brought the world to the verge of a water crisis. Written, designed and directed by Philip Stapp, produced by the Center for Mass Communication of Columbia University Press (color).

SMALL PLANET 10 min., rental $5, sale $45
This film deals with the introduction of the new jet aircraft on the world's air routes. The various types of jets now flying are shown and the part played by the International Civil Aviation Organization in this development is explained (1958).

FIRST PRIORITY 28½ min., rental applications to Mr. Don Sandburg, ETRC, Ann Arbor, Michigan., sale $75 from Contemporary Films, Inc.
A film in support of the FAO campaign toward world-wide "Freedom From Hunger". Shows how the problem of helping under-developed countries to produce more food is being approached on an international basis, with the emphasis on improved methods and new techniques rather than breadlines.

AUSTRALIA BUILDS 10 min., rental $2.50, sale $32.50
Shows how, with special aid from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank), Australia is developing new resources and expanding its industrial capacity (1956).

CHALLENGE IN THE DESERT 16 min., rental $4, sale $65
Shows redevelopment in Libya, which has received United Nations technical assistance in the fields of health, agriculture, education, technical training, and public administration (1954).

TOMORROW BEGINS TODAY 15 min., rental $5, sale $75
Dealing with the problem of the refugees in the Middle East, as well as the difficulties faced by their children, this film shows the steps taken by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency to help in educating and resettling these people, whose talents would otherwise be undeveloped (color).

THE U.N. CHARTER 13½ min., rental $5, sale $65
An introduction to a comprehensive stydy of the United Nations. Deals with origins and developments of the basic document defining the Purposes and Principles of the Organization (narrated by Alistair Cooke).

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY 13 min., rental $5, sale $65
Shows the main organ of the machinery provided in the Charter for the expression of international opinion and in the carrying out of the work of the Organization (narrated by Michael Rennie).

THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL AND SYSTEM 15 min., rental $5, sale $65
Describes how non-self-governing peoples are helped toward effective administrations of their own choosing. Impact is added through scenes in Trust Territories and in the Trusteeship Council Chamber as petitioners address the council.

MAN IN THE BLUE HELMET 28 min., b/w, rental $7.50 sale $75
A new man in town - a new man in the world - the soldier who serves all humanity under the flag of the United Nations. Who is he? How is he recruited? What is his duty? The answers are shown here - as filmed by United Nations cameramen in desert and jungle.

SUBMERGED GLORY 28 min., b/w, rental $7.50, sale $75
In every continent there are milestones which mark humanity's progress from pre-history to the age of the atom. From the temples in Cambodia to the Cathedral in Chartres, these creations stand as a common treasure. Today the temples of Nubia are threatened with inundation by the waters soon to rise at the Aswan Dam; and UNESCO has called for a world-wide effort to save them.

END OF A CHAPTER 28 min., b/w, rental $7.50, sale $75
As most if its "wards" achieve independence or self-government, the United Nations Trusteeship System nears the end of its history. The progress of twenty million people in eleven territories of Africa and the Pacific has been guided by this unique international link between the governing and the governed. Life in present and former United Nations Trust Territories, including New Guinea, Somalia, Togoland and Tanganyika.

FLIGHT 108 28 min., b/w, rental $7.50, sale $75
Never have the air lanes been busier and more congested. . . as jets cross continents and oceans in daily routine. Safety in the air is a prime concern of one United Nations agency - the International Civil Aviation Organization - whose work is explained.

THE MORNING AFTER 28 min., b/w, rental $7.50, sale $75
It is the day after independence. The revels are over, the music has faded away. A new nation has been added to the world's roll-call of sovereign states. And now young leaders take up the full burden of managing the affairs of government. What are their main problems, the principal achievements that their citizens demand? And what part can the United Nations family play in helping them? Filmed on location in Tanganyika at the time of its coming to independence.

POWER ON THE DOORSTEP 28 min. b/w, rental $7.50, sale $75
Each day the world allows untold billions of energy units to dissipate and go to waste; power to cook and light, and move men and goods, enrich the lives of low-income populations. This wasted power is available everywhere: the sun which beats down on plateaus and valleys; the winds which sweep across deserts and seashores; the natural gas and steam beneath the earth's surface. The United Nations has recently taken a close look at the practical problems of using these "free-gift" power sources and what they promise for people in underdeveloped lands.

CONTINENTS 28 min., w/b, rental $7.50, sale $75
The significance of economic cooperation between two of the world's major regions is illustrated in this film by showing the work of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East and the Economic Commission for Europe.

ARID LANDS 27 min., rental $7.50, sale $125
Produced for UNESCO by World-Wide Pictures in 1960. Suitable for grades 6-12 and adult audiences. Highlights some of the work done by arid zone research centers in Morocco, Israel and Pakistan in combatting the spread of arid land and seeking new sources of power from the sun and wind, as well as methods of converting sea water to fresh water.

BENI-ABBES, SCIENCE IN THE DESERT 18 min., rental $7.00, sale $150
Produced by UNESCO in 1955. One of the Arid Zone Research Centers co-operating in the international effort to fight the spread of the desert and make the most of available resources (color).

BOOKS FOR ALL 12 min., rental $3, sale $45
Produced by UNESCO in 1954. The Delhi Public Library, created in 1951 through the co-operation of the Indian Government and UNESCO, serves as a model for South Asian countries. Shows the variety of activities centered there including the children's center, adult groups, etc.

FABLE FOR FRIENDSHIP 11 min., rental $5, sale $100
A Prague Puppetfilmstudio Production for UNESCO, drawn and produced by Jiri Trnka in 1958. Animated humorous short illustrating the aims and ideals of UNESCO. Shows how people erect artificial barriers to mutual understanding and helpful co-operation (color).

MUSIC IN THE SCHOOLS 24 min., rental $7, sale $100
Produced by Svensk Filindustri in 1957. Illustrates the teaching of music in the schools of Sweden. World rights with UNESCO.

WHEN THE MOUNTAINS MOVE 10 min., rental $3, sale $45
Produced by UNESCO in 1955. Suitable for children in grades 6-12 and adult audiences. In the mountains of Colombia where the peasants live isolated from the outside world,a wide radio network for adult and child education has been established. The film shows the immense difficulties to be overcome in starting the programme and shows Radio Sutatenza in operation.

THREE R's IN THE SAND 20 min., rental $5, sale $100
Produced by UNRWA in 1955. Among the Arab refugees living in tents in the desert in 1948 were 200,000 children. The United Nations RElief and Works Agency (UNRWA) and UNESCO undertook the difficult task of educating them. The film was made by the students of the UNRWA Visual Information Services. Conditions have improved, but this remains a moving demonstration of education under difficult conditions.

THE JUNGLE AND THE PLOUGH 28 min., rental $8.50, sale $200
Produced by Ama Ltd., India, for UNESCO in 1956. Suitable for children, grades 9-12 and adults. Shows the work of a fundamental education center in Ceylon, aiding jungle people to reclaim overgrown lands and improve living conditions. Excellent example of community development project (color).

TELEVISION COMES TO THE LAND 24 min., rental $7, sale $100
Produced by UNESCO in 1958. Shows UNESCO at work in conjunction with Radio-Television Francais to bring rural adult education to Teleclubs in France. Also shown are sequences on the subject of educational television filmed in Italy and Japan.

ORIENT-OCCIDENT: ASPECTS OF AN EXHIBITION 21 min., rental $5, sale $100
Produced by UNESCO in 1959. Made during an exhibition in 1958-59 at the Cernuschi Museum in Paris. The theme is that though separated by thousands of miles and centuries of history, Orient and Occident have always met in works of art. Shows contributions made by both world areas illustrating the fundamental unity of art.

POWER AMONG MEN Full-length 90 min., rental $25 b/w,$35 color, sale $320 and $480
Discussion length 44 min., rental $17.50 b/w, $25 color, sale $165 and $2.75
The first feature length film to deal with the idea and purposes of the United Nations. It is a film about two forces which coexist in humankind: power to build and power to destroy. Man prides himself on being the builder of civilizations. But he cannot deny that he is an equally effective destroyer. The film leaves the viewer with the knowledge that it is up to man himself to make the choice. In sequences filmed in Italy, Haiti, Sweden and Canada, the film shows how man's abilities have been put to use and how his powers have been applied.

UNITED NATIONS 16mm FILMS AVAILABLE FOR RENTAL

Inquire at: United Nations Association of Minnesota
738 Midwest Plaza Bldg. 801 Nicollet Mall
333-2824

1. ASSIGNMENT CHILDREN - Alistair Cooke gives to the television audience the opportunity of experiencing once again Danny Kaye's memorable journey to Asia on behalf of the United Nations Children's Fund. One of the world's great clowns contributes his own therapy of laughter in support of UNICEF's mission to the world's children.

2. THE MAN IN THE BLUE HELMET - A new man in the world - the soldier who serves all humanity under the flag of the United Nations. Who is he? How is he recruited? What is his duty? The answers are shown here - as filmed by UN cameramen in desert and jungle.

3 and 4 no longer available

5. FLIGHT 108 - Never have the airlanes been busier and more congested - as jets cross continents and oceans in daily routine. Safety in the air is a prime concern of one UN agency - the International Civil Aviation Organization - whose work is explained.

6. CONTINENTS - The significance of economic co-operation between two of the world's major regions - illustrated by the work of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East -and the Economic Commission for Europe.

7. THE INTERPRETER - In this century, the diplomatic interpreter has come into his own as the indispensable middle-man of diplomacy in the Age of the Conference. What are the linguistic skills and personality factors this job requires? Alistair Cooke introduces viewers to some members of the UN corps of interpreters and answers your curiosities on the subject.

8. INSIDE THE HOUSE - United Nations Headquarters - the world under one roof.

9. CATALYST - A true-life situation that helped change the lives of the people in a Haitian village, A UN agricultural expert shows the villagers what they can do to help themselves - through cooperative effort. The program was filmed entirely in Haitai.

10. THE HIDDEN CRISIS - Political and military headlines have dominated the Congo news since June 1960. But the UN family of organizations and the people of the Congo have also lived through another crisis, an unseen drama in which the elements have been hunger, health and economic survival.

11. PORTRAIT OF DAG HAMMARSKJOLD - Dag Hammarskjold, late Secretary-General of the UN, was a man of many facets - most of which were unknown to most people. This special edition shows a close-up of this unusual personality - in a special filmed conversation with Alistair Cooke. In it, Mr. Hammarskjold speaks his mind on many subjects - diplomacy - art - music. The program reveals the inner thoughts of a great world leader.

12. KILLER AT LARGE - A genial and unsuspecting businessman brings smallpox from Asia to Europe and triggers an international manhunt in which the health authorities of many countries cooperate with the Epidemic Warning Service of the World Health Organization.

13. SUBMERGED GLORY - In every continent there are milestones which mark humanity's progress from pre-history to the age of the atom. From the temples in Cambodia, to the pyramids in Mexico, from the sculptures in Nigeria, to the Cathedral in Chartres, these creations of mankind stand as a common treasure. Today the magnificent temples of Nubia are threatened with unundation by the waters soon to rise at the Aswan Dam; and UNESCO has called for a world-wide effort to save them.

14. POWER ON THE DOORSTEP - Each day the world allows untold billions of energy units to dissipate and go to waste; power which could cook and light and move men and goods; which could greatly enrich the lives of low-income populations. This wasted power is available, readily at hand, everywhere; the sun which beats down on plateaus and valleys; the winds which sweep across deserts and seashores; the natural gas and steam beneath the earth's surface. The UN has recently taken a close look at the practical problem of using these "free-gift" power sources and what they promise for people in under-developed lands.

15. NEW GIRL IN TOWN - To a small and poor village in Afghanistan comes one young, well-trained District Nurse, with a few simple pieces of medical equipment - and we see the quiet but dramatic way the life of the village is transformed. Filmed on location, in a village of almost biblical dignity and simplicity.

16. MAN'S SMALLEST SERVANT - A program about the atom, which has triggered off a new fear in the world but which also generates new help. Today the atom powers factories, treats cancer, illuminates the heretofore hidden mysteries of the life process. Fascinating film footage on new atomic applications for peaceful purposes has come in to UN Headquarters from countries as far apart as Venezuela and the USSR, Japan and Norway.

17. THE END OF A CHAPTER - As most of its "wards" achieve independence or self-government, the UN Trusteeship system nears the end of its history. The progress of twenty million people in eleven territories in Africa and the Pacific has been guided by this unique international link between the governors and the governed. Life in present and former UN Trust Territories, including New Guinea, Somalia, Togoland and Tanganyika.

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19. PORTRAIT OF U THANT - In October 1961, the General Assembly chose Ambassador U Thant of Burma to be Acting Secretary-General of the UN, the third man to occupy the chair since the organization was founded. U Thant has been a school teacher, a journalist and a diplomat and for five years before his appointment as UN Chief Executive he led the Burmese Delegation to the UN General Assembly. In a filmed conversation, Alistair Cooke asks questions about the Acting Secretary-General's youth in Burma and about his leisure interests. They discuss the evolution of his attitude to the UN and some of his thoughts about its present and future.

20. 1945 - For no year in world history is the calendar as tightly interleaved with events as 1945; Yalta - Victory over German - Potsdam - San Francisco - Hiroshima - Victory over Japan - the coming into existence of the United Nations. The relationship between these events is examined in an absorbing look back to the year in which this present age began.

21. TO KNOW ONESELF - The UN Special Fund exists to help developing countries find out what they have; what they have - in terms of human and physical resources - with which to grow. Under the leadership of its dynamic Managing Director, Paul Hoffman, the Fund helpers finance resources surveys and helps establish technical training institutions. The objective is to help each country in its search for development capital. Through footage shot by United Nations cameramen in Africa, INTERNATIONAL ZONE looks at Special Fund undertakings in Nigeria, Morocco, Togo and Ethiopia.

22. THE LATIN AMERICAN WAY - The twenty republics of Latin America offer a diversity of scenery and development as dramatic as any in the world. Beneath the umbrella of an apparent common Latin culture, the various countries are as different from each other as any elsewhere in the world. The essential unity of Latin America lies in its common problems and, perhaps, in some common solutions to them. In working out these solutions, the UN (with its Economic Commission for Latin America) has a part to play. The story is filmed by UN cameramen in eight Latin American countries.

23. GOING HOME - An intimate and intensely human aspect of the Congo drama is revealed by UN cameras as they follow a family of the Baluba Tribe from the refugee camp (in which they have been sheltered for nearly a year) to their ancestral lands hundreds of miles to the north. For nearly two generations, the Balubas have been skilled, technical and office workers; the harsh realities of the Congo now decree that they shall forego their skilled occupations and return to subsistence farming.

24. NO FRONTIERS IN THE SKY - All modern communities depend heavily on adequate weather forecasting, and for some professions - fishing, farming, aviation - it is a life-and-death matter. Storms respect no political frontiers, and nations have learned to cooperate closely in exchanging weather information. That is why the UN has a World Meteorological Organization whose work relates directly to the man in the street - and especially to the man in the pilot's seat.

25 26 x 36 MESSENGER - Small rectangles of paper carry the story of the UN to millions of homes all over the world. A postal service - and the issuance of postage stamps - is one of the attributes of a sovereign state; but the UN also has a postal administration and uses the mail routes of the world for its own unique international postage stampe. UN commemoratives are often highly prized by collectors and the program looks at the philatelic aspects as part of this story of an unique internation undertaking.

26. THE WIDENING GAP - Whether you have clean water or not; whether your life expectancy is over 70 - or under 30; whether you earn over $1000 a year - or under $100 . . these are decisive questions in defining on which side of the "Gap" you are located. Alistair Cooke takes a penetrating look at the nature of poverty and development, calling in world authorities for comment - among them, Arthur Lewis and Barbara Ward Jackson

27. GENERATORS OF HOPE - Poverty can today be defined in terms of "power" and "energy". You are rich if you have it, poor if you do not. Between the huge hydro-electric projects of rich countries and the use of human and animal muscle power in the poor lands, lies a critical gulf. Alistair Cooke looks into some new possibilities (and problems) in using energy sources to turn the wheels and light the homes in the less developed lands. UNESCO leader Malcolm Adiseshia and Ireaeli physicist Harry Tabor help tell the story.

28. LIFE IS SHORT - The most obvious and distressing element in the gap between rich and poor is the food question - the surplus in rich lands, contrasted with chronic malnutrition and near starvation in the poor. Alistair Cooke tells of UN family efforts to assure a basic and healthy diet for all, and the problems of production, distribution and social adjustment involved. A campaign to achieve "Freedom from Hunger" is now being directed by the UN's Food and Agriculture Organization.At the program's end, UN Secretary-General U Thant underlines the urgency and the target involved in the UN's Development Decade.

29. CONGO: THE WAY AHEAD - Through the eyes of a fifteen-year old Congo schoolboy, INTERNATIONAL ZONE reveals theppresent situation in the Congo. The tragic circumstances which, since 1960 have led to a decline in the standards of living of millions of people - the story of the patient painstaking efforts of the Congo people to build a modern and flourishing state are vividly portrayed; as are the UN efforts to help. Filmed by UN cameramen throughout the Congo.

30. . 800 FIRST AVENUE - A visitor goes up some marble steps on east side Manhattan, passes through a revolving door and enters the unique world of UN Headquarters. Some of the UN's lovely lady tour guides lead Alistair Cooke and the viewers on an absorbing and perceptive visit to the "International Zone" itself.

31. THE REFERENCE MAN - He is 35 years old - healthy - weighs around 145 pounds - he works and eight-hour day in an active but not too strenuous job. Requirements: 3200 calories of food a day. These are some of the statistics on Alistair Cooke's abstract guest, "The Reference Man". The program takes a look at the world's food needs and sources - and weighs the chances of assuring an adequate diet for the world's exploding population - now a matter of high concern as the UN family of organizations supports the "Freedom from Hunger" campaign.

32. WHAT DO YOU KNOW? - This seemingly casual and friendly question is transformed into a life and death inquiry when it is flung by the world's poor at the leading scientists and technologists of our time. What do you know that can help us advance? That can help us close the desperate gap between poor and rich? Eighteen hundred possible answers - ideas, devices, shortcuts, time-savers - were recently examined by the world's top scientists and development experts in a mammoth UN Scientific Conference at Geneva.

33. PEPITO AND THE MACHINE - Time and motion experts say that the greatest part of the muscular effort of all mankind is spent in fetching water. Only a segment of the world's homes has water piped in; in others it has to be carried, sometimes yards, sometimes miles, from well, lake or stream; and this drudgery ties up exertion needed for much more rewarding work. In the Mexican village of San Pedro they used to carry water three miles. Until, one day little Pepito went to the neighboring village to play football. That was the day Pepito saw the machine.

34. THE ENEMY OF TOMORROW - To what extent does a government satisfy the public demand for immediate advance? To what extent does it insist on austerity now, so that the next generation shall have enough? Nowhere is this choice among priorities more painful than in the realm of education. Mass literacy - high schools - polytechnics - universities - all are needed - and simultaneously. Yet shortage of money makes it necessary to choose some and defer others. A UN film team has covered this vital public and international question as it affects five countries of West Africa.

35. INTERREGNUM - The 17 post-war years have brought the UN an enormous variety of tasks - all the way from fighting a war to eradicating malaria. But not until October 1962 did it ever have direct and sole responsibilty for governing a territory. In that month, the Netherlands agreed to transfer authority for West New Guinea's 750,000 people to the Republic of Indonesia - by way of a seven-month period of d[illegible] UN control. Alistair Cooke tells the story of this unique assignment, UN responsibility over a colorful and partly unexplored part of the world.

36. CONVERSATION WITH U THANT - Alistair Cooke and the Secretary General of the UN discuss the state of the world and the UN. Their talks embrace hopes for disarmament, the finances of the world organization, the changing membership a structure of the UN, the "gap" between the rich and poor. They also talk about U Thant's own philosophy and his approach to the job of peace-keeping.

37. LINES OF COMMUNICATION - The first telegraph linesman who strung a wire over an international frontier created a problem new to history. A century ago in Europe the first International telegraphic network was built between the capitals; the first permanent inter-government organization was created to settle routes, rates and procedures. INTERNATIONAL ZONE takes in the sweep of technological development in communications between the day and this age of communications satellites and shows the efforts of the UN family - the International Telecommunications Union in particular - to bring order and harmony to a swiftly changing scene.

38. FORUM - "Perhaps the most important - certainly the most nearly universal - deliberative body on earth." These words describe the General Assembly of the UN, where each of the 111 members has a voice and a vote. Every international issue, every problem involving more than one nation, is before the Assembly in some form or another. In the years since 1945, the General Assembly has stopped wars, shaped new nations, changed the direction of history. The program is an historical survey, taking in some of the great moments, the most memorable personalities and the most historic decisions.

39. THE EIGHTEENTH YEAR - An account of the major UN events of 1963, with Alistair Cooke recalling such issues as the Congo, Yemen, West Irian and other problems which have confronted the world organization in the eighteenth year since the Charter of San Francisco was signed. The most encouraging event of the year was the partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty; the darkest, the death of President Kennedy in November.

40. EVERY STEP A GIANT STEP (INDIA) - Gunga Ram, Sarpanch (headman) of the Panchayst (village council) of Kumariawas, in Rajasthan, has led the people to a better standard of living through the acquisition of modern tools and machinery, including a diesel engine that grinds grain to flour, pumps water, and drives a small sawmill. As we live for a few weeks with Ram, he is encouraging the villagers to turn over some of their new prosperity to the building of a middle school for the children of the village. We see the school grow from a low wall to the point where the lintels are going up over the door frame.

41. A ROOF OF MY OWN (PERU) - Lima is confronted with the world-wide problem of cities-mass immigration from the countryside. The people themselves are beginning to find an answer. They are building vast suburbs, called "barriadas" on formerly unused land. Although technically, the barriada dwellers are squatters, the Peruvian government sees that the barriada idea is one way of solving a practical problem and is lending its encouragement. We see what is going on in the Lima barriadas through the lives of families who live in various barriadas.

42. THE DESERT AND THE RIVER (MALI) - Mali is a new African country that has emerged into a new prosperity through encouragement of the development of the resources of the great Niger River. Farmers, fisherman, merchants, are formed into cooperatives that can take advantage of the developments along the river. We travel the river and visit four representative families whose daily lives depend completely upon the river.

43. A WOMAN'S PLACE - The village of Magdeleno near Caracas has been for many years a small suburban slum inhabited by agricultural and industrial unskilled workers, but just a few years ago Magdeleno became the recipient of a small factory which had failed. Now the factory is a cooperative and it uses the enea fibre which grows wild on the shores of Lake Valencia, to make a number of products, from rugs to tables and chairs. Almost 300 citizens of Magdaleno have now become skilled, prosperous workers of this cooperative venture which is administered by the Venezuelan Department of Community Development. Our story is about the women of Magdaleno and the basic work that they do in providing plaited enea reed to the factory.

44. THE NEW AND THE OLD (MADAGASCAR) - Eugene Martin is a recent graduate of Madagascar's Training Center for community leaders. Today, in the remote village of Tsaramody, he is the schoolmaster who teaches reading, writing and Twentieth Century ideas to the children and he is the village's quiet gadfly on matters of development. Both with the children and the olders, he wages compassionate battle against old traditions which cripple progress. The children are ready to accept his teachings ; the elders are reluctant to do so.

45. IN SEARCH OF MYSELF (NIGERIA) - People in the emerging nations of Africa are living through a conflict in which the battlegrounds are their own minds and feelings. They want to make use of the best of what more technologically-advanced societies have developed; but they also want their progress to be uniquely African in nature, informed by the best of African wisdom and culture. At Nigeria's Mbari Art Center we have an unusual opportunity to meet several young authors, artists, and musicians who are among the strongest voices now being heard in this conflict of identity, as well as to see for ourselves the evidence of the struggle as it is lived in daily life.

46. THE MAN OF TWO WORLDS (COLUMBIA) - In the valley of Paz del Rio in Columbia stand an iron mine and a steel mill. The farmers of the valley make up the bulk of the workforce at the steel mill. When they are not engaged in their skilled tasks at the mill, they are tilling their fields in what looks to American eyes a primitive fashion. Nevertheless, this combination of industrialization and agriculture has taken up the economic lag for the thousands of people who live in the Paz del Rio and has brought them into Twentieth Century prosperity without taking them away from their traditional ties with the land. Our story is about a farmer. Juan N. Who is also a foreman in the steel mill.

47. THE MIDWIFE OF KUDPENG (THAILAND) - Nanda is a village midwife in the province of Ubol in Thailand. She is a good deal more; she is the only health officer the village has, she teaches nutrition, she teaches how to make thriving kitchen gardens grow. Our story is of Nanda's quiet struggle with her amiable, easy-going neighbors, trying to get them to abandon many of the ancient practices which have kept them prey to disease and malnutrition.

48. A LIGHT FOR LALLA MIMOUNA (MOROCCO) - The village of Lalla Mimouna in Morocco has been the subject of an experiment for several years. The first stage of the experiment was to rid the village and its surrounding countryside of the strangling growths of cactus which made the land useless and which harbored poisonous snakes. The second step covered by our UN crew was the bringing of electrification to Lalla Mimouna. Here we see the possibilities for change in a part of the world which has waited almost too long for improvement. We see Lalla Mimouna's progress through the eye of Abdel Kader Maiz, a merchant of the town.

49. HOW YOU'VE CHANGED (GHANA) - Several years ago, Ella Griffin was a UNESCO worker in nutrition and literacy, working with people in Ghana. This year, we invited Ella Griffin to go back to Ghana with our film crew to see the fruits of some of the ideas which she had planted and to see some of the radical new developments which have come about in literacy training now that her early work has been followed by a nationwide plan involving all of Ghana's people.

50. NEW SOUND IN WELLA CHILAW (CEYLON) — The fisherman of Ceylon have for centuries been at the mercy of the tides. They have always gone out on an out-flowing tide and had to come back home when the tide returned them. Now, with a simple addition of outboard motors, (bought with funds lent them by their government), Ceylonese fishermen are learning how to go to the fishing grounds and how to return with larger catches. We see also the development of a home-grown engine maintenance industry, indispensable to the fishermen who depend on motors.

51. TWO BOYS OF BAHIA (BRAZIL) - The Brazilian government with the aid of UNESCO has built a new school. We follow two boys, one who goes to the new school and one who goes to the old traditional school.

52. WHAT WE WANT (WORLDWIDE) - In the final program of the series, a scattering of people from all over the world tell us in their own words what is most important to them in the Development Decade. They reveal insights into the human problems which are parts of their daily lives - problems of which they must be rid before real progress can take place.

OPINION BALLOT

NATO IN CRISIS

Make up your own mind which U.S. policies you support, or what changes in policy you favor. On the ballot below, check all of those policies with which you are in agreement. Or add comments in your own words.

1. What broad policies should the U.S. adopt toward NATO?

_____a. Continue support of NATO as the most important of our military and political alliances.

_____b. Continue to urge NATO members to work for unification of Western Europe as a preliminatry to entering "equal partnership" with U.S.

_____c. Treat NATO primarily as a security pact.

_____d. Prepare to abandon NATO when and if genuine East-West detente is achieved.

_____e. Prepare to withdraw from NATO after 1969 as no longer necessary to U.S. security and political interests.

_____f. Other, or comments____

____

2. What policies should the U.S. adopt toward France in the light of its withdrawal from the NATO integrated military structure?

_____a. Continue to treat France as a member in good standing of the North Atlantic Treaty, and make it clear that France will be welcome to return to NATO's military structure whenever it wishes to.

_____b. Permit France to participate in any activities of the integrated command it wishes to.

_____c. Move to oust France from all activities of the integrated command.

_____d. Other, or comment____

____

3. What policies should the U.S. follow regarding the number of troops it maintains in Western Europe?

_____a. Continue to keep present number of troops in Western Europe indefinitely.

_____b. Make such limited cutbacks as are warranted by technological developments which would permit speedy return of troops in case of emergency.

_____c. Withdraw troops for which the dollar cost to the U.S. is not met by West German offset payments.

_____d. Work for a phased and equal withdrawal of Soviet troops from Eastern Europe and U.S. troops from Western Europe.

_____e. Withdraw all troops and bring them home to the U.S.

_____f. Other, or comment ____

____

4. What policies should the U.S. follow with regard to the NATO nuclear-sharing problem?

_____a. Encourage creation of independent nuclear deterrents by major NATO allies (Britain, France, West Germany, Italy).

_____b. Revive proposal for a multinuclear force which would give nuclear weapons to participants but which would vest the U.S. with a veto over their use.

_____c. Support current U.S. proposals for a special committee of NATO members which would have a voice in planning of nuclear strategy but no actual possession of any strategic nuclear weapons.

_____d. Continue present "double key" system of control over tactical nuclear weapons in which U.S. retains veto over use of the weapons.

_____e. Abandon "double key" system for unilateral U.S. control over tactical nuclear weapons.

_____f. Other, or comments ____

____

CHRONOLOGY

1945	
June 26	United Nations Charter signed at San Francisco.
1947	
March 12	President Truman asks Congress "to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure" (Truman Doctrine) and requests aid to Greece and Turkey.
June 5	Gen. George C. Marshall, U.S. Secretary of State, speaking at Harvard, announces plan for economic rehabilitation of Europe. This speech (Marshall Plan) initiated action on European Recovery Program and Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC).
July 2	Soviet bloc refuses Marshall Plan aid.
Oct. 5	Cominform, an organization for the ideological unity of the Soviet bloc, established.
1948	
March 17	The Brussels treaty -- a 50-year treaty of collective defense -- signed by Belgium, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, and United Kingdom.
June 11	United States Senate adopts "Vandenberg Resolution," which calls for the association of the United States with regional collective defense arrangements.
June 24	Berlin blockaded by the Russians.
July 6	Brussels treaty powers, Canada, and United States begin discussions in Washington on North Atlantic defense.
Dec. 10	Negotiations on drafting of North Atlantic Treaty open in Washington.
1949	
April 4	North Atlantic Treaty signed in Washington by Foreign Ministers of Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, United Kingdom, and United States.
May 9	The Berlin blockade is lifted.
Aug. 24	North Atlantic Treaty enters into effect upon deposit in Washington of final instruments of ratification.
Sept. 17	North Atlantic Council, first session, Washington.
Sept. 22	Anglo-U.S.-Canadian announcement that atomic explosion has taken place in U.S.S.R.
1950	
Dec. 19	Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower appointed first Supreme Allied Commander Europe by North Atlantic Council.
1952	
Feb. 18	Greece and Turkey accede to North Atlantic Treaty.
April 28	North Atlantic Council, now in permanent session, holds first meeting at Paris.

1954	
May 7	In reply to Soviet note of March 31, France, United Kingdom, and United States reject U.S.S.R.'s bid to join NATO.
Oct. 20-23	Four-Power Conference at Paris attended by France, Federal Republic of Germany, United Kingdom, and United States; protocol adopted terminating occupation regime in Federal Republic of Germany.
1955	
May 5	Federal Republic of Germany officially becomes member of NATO.
May 14	U.S.S.R. concludes Warsaw Pact with European satellites by way of reply to accession of Federal Republic of Germany to North Atlantic Treaty.
Dec. 15-16	Ministerial meeting of North Atlantic Council decides to equip Atlantic forces with atomic weapons.
1957	
Oct. 4	U.S.S.R. launches first Sputnik.
Dec. 16-19	Meeting of Heads of Government at Paris reaffirms principles and purposes of Atlantic alliance. Council decides to arm NATO with the most effective weapons and to promote closer cooperation in political, economic, scientific, and military fields.
1958	
Apr. 15-17	NATO Defense Ministers at Paris reaffirm defensive character of NATO strategy.
1961	
Aug. 13	East German "Vopos" seal off eastern sector of Berlin.
Dec. 13-15	North Atlantic Council at Paris strongly condemns building of Berlin Wall.
1962	
Oct. 22-28	Cuban missile crisis.
Dec. 13-15	North Atlantic Council at Paris closely examines implications of the Cuban affair and approves action taken by United States.
1963	
Oct. 22-23	Operation "Big Lift": 14,500 U.S. soldiers flown to Germany in record time to demonstrate that United States is able to reinforce NATO forces in Europe in an emergency.
1964	
May 12-14	North Atlantic Council in ministerial meeting at the Hague reaffirms full support for United Nations in its action to restore law and order in Cyprus.
Oct. 8-9	First meeting of Defense Research Directors Committee created to advise NATO on applications of science in strengthening defenses, especially those aspects which call for international scientific cooperation.
Oct. 16	Communist China explodes its first atomic bomb.

1965	
Sept. 9	General de Gaulle announces French *military* integration within NATO would have to come to an end by 1969.
1966	
March 10	French Government forwards aide memoire to the 14 other NATO nations proposing to end assignment of French forces. France proposes simultaneous withdrawal from French territory of Allied military forces and headquarters.
July 25	Defense Ministers at Paris adopt NATO force plan for period to and including 1970 and lay down guidelines for years following 1970. Ministers underline importance of defense of flank regions.
1967	
Oct. 16	Official opening of new NATO Headquarters at Brussels.
Dec. 13-14	First ministerial meeting of North Atlantic Council at Brussels Headquarters approves Harmel Report on the Future Tasks of the Alliance. Sitting as Defense Planning Committee (14 NATO nations; France excepted), Ministers adopt NATO's new strategic concept based on flexible and balanced range of appropriate responses, conventional and nuclear, to all levels of aggression or threats of aggression. Also approves Standing Naval Force Atlantic (STANAVFORLANT), first multinational naval squadron on permanent peacetime basis.
1968	
May 10	Ministerial session of Defense Planning Committee at Brussels reaffirms need for alliance to assure a balance of forces between NATO and Warsaw Pact. Ministers adopt series of force goals for period 1969-73 and endorse view that present circumstances do not justify deployment of anti-ballistic-missile system in Europe.
June 24-25	Ministerial meeting of Council adopts declaration expressing readiness to consider possibility of mutual and balanced force reductions in Europe.
Aug. 20-21	Soviet, Polish, East German, Bulgarian, and Hungarian troops invade Czechoslovakia. Party leader Dubcek arrested.
Nov. 14-16	Ministerial meeting of Council at Brussels. Ministers denounce Soviet actions in Czechoslovakia as contrary to basic principles of United Nations Charter and give warning to U.S.S.R. They decide to improve state of NATO defense forces, confirm they will continue to study possibilities of détente, and reaffirm necessity of Atlantic alliance.
1969	
April 10-11	North Atlantic Council in ministerial session at Washington commemorates 20th anniversary of treaty creating the alliance and is addressed by President Nixon. Allies propose to explore with Soviet Union and other East European countries which current issues best lend themselves to fruitful negotiation and early resolution. Agrees it is emtremely important that defense posture and political solidarity of alliance not be relaxed during era of negotiations.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE PUBLICATION - OFFICE OF MEDIA SERVICES
Bureau of Public Affairs

THE COMMON MARKET AND ITS POTENTIAL EFFECTS ON THE UNITED STATES: ITS AGRICULTURAL RELATIONSHIPS

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Europe's Place in the World

A marked characteristic of Western Europe is its political fragmentation, the survival of many relatively small national states. West of the Russian organized territory of Eastern Europe, there are some 20 national states, excluding micro-states, which occupy only about a third of Europe in an area roughly equivalent to that of the United States, Australia or Brazil. In this relatively small area are concentrated 320 million people, the largest components being found in West Germany, the United Kingdom, Italy and France. While it is increasingly recognized that political fragmentation weakens the economy of Western Europe, there are no short cuts either to effective political integration or to the creation of the community spirit which this necessitates. Only as education and thought bring the conviction that economic advantages and greater security can so accrue, and external political, economic, and military pressures, too, urge the relaxation of state sovereignties, can measures be taken, by stages, to produce larger functional units which make for a more rational economic use of available resources. There will be no sudden federation of Western Europe, but there are very definite, and specific multinational associations which are promising some inevitable changes in the geography of Western Europe.

Economic cooperation, of sorts, has been a part of the European scene for many decades. And, it must be admitted that on an occasion or two, economic unions have aided in political integration. The trend toward economic integration in Western Europe has shown a recent tendency of accelerating as witness the European Coal and Steel Community, Benelux, and the more recent creation of the European Economic Community (EEC), or Common Market. The primary aim of this intergovernmental organization is to establish a common market and the gradual removing of differences in the economic policies of member states. Overall there is the idealistic aim of attaining a more harmonious development of economic activities, improvement of living standards, and closer relations between member states.

Whatever the eventual outcome of this altruistic endeavor, there can be no doubt that geographical patterns will be changed in one form or another.

The measures proposed by the EEC are comprehensive, radical, and enlightened. Restrictions on trade and on the movement of capital and labor between the Common Market Six are being removed; a common policy on agriculture; transportation, and fisheries is being formulated; and a common trade policy is being established toward states outside the Community. The Community is faced by bristling difficulties at every turn, for each member has its own hopes and expectations and these will be hard to reconcile in the general interest. Furthermore, for every measure proposed for member nations, there is the difficulty of satisfying the normal trade relations with nations outside of this continental phenomenon.

Europe's Place in the World of Commerce

Despite the debilitating effects of war and depression during the past century, Western Europe is still responsible for a remarkably high proportion of world trade. Western Europe still accounts for approximately two-fifths of the world's exports, compared with the 25 per cent for North America. Also, Western Europe absorbs the greatest share of the world's imports (45 per cent), as compared with North America's share (19 per cent).

Table I which follows indicates that the pattern of European import sources has decidedly shifted in the past several decades, in a relative sense, at least. The relative downward shift of European imports from the United States has been considerable, and, certainly both private and public interests in this nation have expressed considerable concern over this turn of events. Additional effects should be expected as the Common Market pushes toward its professed goals.

TABLE I. Principal Sources of Western Europe's Imports (per cent)

Nation or area	1928	1938	1952	1958
United States	31	22	22	20
Canada	9	8	9	7
Latin America	21	19	11	12
Overseas sterling areas	25	31	37	32
Affiliated " "	5	10	12	8
Other Primary areas, incl. Japan, USSR, etc.	8	8	8	14

The threat to U.S. trade interests has seen many U.S. concerns making efforts to set up business in the Common Market in one form or another. Some firms are building manufacturing outlets in the six nations, others are gaining control of the majority stocks in public stock corporations. Still others are negotiating licensing agreements with European firms for the production of various industrial commodities. At the same time the Congress of the United States recently passed a far reaching trade agreements act, which will permit the Administration a wide latitude in negotiating with the rapidly moving Common Market system. The government's ability to maintain open channels between the United States and EEC members will have a definite effect on the number of U.S. employees working in the various concerns that have considerable foreign markets. The outcome remains foggy.

Europe's Place in the Agricultural World

Up until recently, a large proportion of Western Europe imports consisted of agricultural products and raw materials. The importance of agricultural products, which include not only food and fodder but also fibers such as cotton and wool, has declined considerably during the last 20 years, as Table II's figures suggest:

TABLE II. Agricultural Imports as Percentage of Total Imports

Nation:	1938	1959
United Kingdom	58	37
West Germany	47	27
Netherlands	26	16

This decline reflects, in part, the results of domestic efforts for increased food production at home, and as a consequence of deliberate governmental subsidies and bonuses. Furthermore, inabilities to secure sufficient dollars, as well as changes in demand, have altered the sources of West Europe's imports. In short, then, the United States' agricultural market in Western Europe has been gradually running into increasing resistence from the European market since World War II. This is not necessarily a phenomenon, then, which will begin with the gradually evolving Common Market.

Tariff Preferences Begin in European Common Market

The European Common Market moved into the second stage of its transitional period as of January 1, 1962. At this time each of the Member States (Germany, Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg, Netherlands, and France) initiated a preferential import duty system for agricultural commodities by setting up schedules of "internal" rates applicable to Member States and "external" rates applicable to third countries, e.g., nations outside of the EEC.

The "internal" rates represent an initial move toward ultimate elimination of duties between Member States, while the "external" rates represent initial adjustments upward or downward toward the Common External Tariff. The effect of this action is to create margins of tariff protection for commodities produced within the Community.

Despite the fact that the ministers of Agriculture of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) have piously declared that agricultural policies should be formulated in light of international trade responsibilities as well as domestic consideration, there has been the almost inevitable formulation of policies which would attempt to give the European farmer a reasonable living standard. The wide gap between per capita incomes on the land and in the urban community in Western Europe has been greater than that, for instance, between the U.S. farmer and business in the United States. The effect on the U.S. exports to the EEC will vary from commodity to commodity, as a consequence of duties of the Member States and the creation of a totally new area of preferential trade (includes former European Colonies, as well as present colonial territories controlled by EEC), the continuation, modification, or elimination of non-tariff trade barriers will be of great importance.

Specific Effects on U.S. Exports to EEC

The discussion which follows will examine certain selected agricultural commodities, that will be affected by the various "proposed" EEC external duties.

Tobacco: The present proposed rates contain a bias for lower priced tobaccos. Higher priced U.S. tobacco from member countries will have duty-free access to other member nations. Tobaccos from the associated areas of Greece and Africa will also enter duty-free into all Common Market countries. Unless the United States is successful in negotiating, further reduction, it is likely to experience a decreasing share of an increasing European market.

Livestock and Meat Products: Changes in tariffs of the countries making up the EEC are beginning to affect world trade in meats and other animal products. Internally, the tariffs are being lowered; externally, there is a general upward adjustment on many products. With this condition the United States' exporters are finding it increasingly difficult to maintain exports to the EEC.

Exports of United States commodities to Benelux (Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg) in 1961, was a sizable proportion of this nation's total sales in overseas markets. In 1961, nearly $40 million of livestock and livestock products were shipped to Benelux, especially to the Netherlands for resale to other continental markets. The list of items included: tallows, greases, hides, skins, meats, mohair, and sausage casings.

Raw Cotton: The European Common Market, already a large outlet for U.S. raw cotton will become an even larger one in years ahead. Further, recent negotiations have assured the United States that cotton may continue to enter EEC duty-free for an indefinite time. Nevertheless, there are offsetting factors which are increasingly entering the market picture. For example, the output of synthetic fibers is causing increased competition for cotton. Secondly, lower-cost sources of cotton (African and Asiatic) may well cut into the U.S.'s European market at a future date.

Poultry and Poultry Products: In the fall of 1962, the EEC issued a series of provisional drafts concerned with internal and external movements of this agricultural category.

In the months that followed repercussions on the U.S. export market had been felt. West Germany, which had been a major importer of U.S. poultry, was gradually applying the new import duties on U.S. poultry, making it extremely difficult for this commodity to compete with EEC products. The effect has been most felt in the areas along the Atlantic Coast of the United States, especially in producing areas of Georgia.

Grain and Grain Products: Going into effect on July 30, 1962, were a series of EEC grain regulations which, in effect, will cause a serious loss of markets to United States grain farmer. Unless U.S. negotiations can find a means of satisfying the EEC within the next three or four years, a major grain market will be lost to the American farmer indefinitely.

Projected Conclusions: The American farmer, beset by overproduction, maldistribution, and weak prices on his product, may be the biggest victim of increased European agricultural production, and EEC's tariff bias. During the last few years, U.S. farm exports to the Common Market and Great Britain approached one-third of all U.S. sales in Europe.

It is a clear possibility that the loss of this market could result in a 30 percent decrease of the U.S.'s farm export market, a formidable problem which must be faced, regardless if negotiations is possible or not, for it cannot be forgotten that the European farmer deserves a better place in the sun than it has been his fate in recent generations. In a recapitulation of the preceding observations, the following possibilities exist for American agriculture in the European market:

1) Raw Tobacco - Rising tariffs on better U.S. types will increase the difficulties of finding a lucrative European market. In addition, there is the increased awareness on the part of Europeans of the health hazards that may be caused by inhalation of burnt tobacco.

2) Fats and Oils - Production of various African oil plants (areas formerly Colonial territories of European powers, and now enjoying a preferential position) will be increased, at the expense of U.S. producers. Sales of soybean oils will ultimately be affected, even in those nations now outside of the EEC; Portugal being an example of the latter situation.

3) Meat and Other Animal Products - Europe is moving toward self-sufficiency in most major meat products. There may be a temporary place in the production of specialty products by United States producers.

4) Cotton - For the time being, cotton interests in the U.S. will find a lucrative and free market in the EEC. In the long run, competition from synthetics, and cheaper cotton from tropical associated nations will definitely increase and certainly have its effects on the United States producer of cotton.

Grain and Grain Products: Gradual movement toward self-sufficiency in the production of major grain such as wheat, will find the U.S. farmer without this long term foreign market. U.S. surpluses could become unmanageable unless substitute markets are located, and in direct competition from Canada.

Despite the dark picture drawn by the previous outline, optimists feel that wisdom and tact on the part of negotiators for the U.S. and EEC could soften the blow of the almost inevitable change which is about to occur in the trade interests on both sides of the Atlantic. Patterns of geographic change are inevitable on both sides of the Atlantic. Specifically, this could include the following: (a) expansion of mechanized farming on farms of great size in some sectors of Europe; a further consequence will be increased movement of rural population to continental urban areas; (b) increased European facilities to produce canned food, some of which is imported from U.S. (frozen juice concentrates); (c) large shipments of U.S. grain moving through the Great Lakes, as well as Atlantic and Gulf ports would be curtailed by a shifting foreign market. As a consequence, this could result in the partial curtailment of American jobs in the shipping fields, unless substitute markets are found; (d) a sharp reduction for U.S. agricultural goods could further aggravate the jobless situation for both agrarian and urban interests. Land now given over to the production of salable products could be forced to revert to its former virgin condition, at least in part, unless the U.S. farmer is able to make the transition of change.

The above are the possible realities of a situation which is rapidly developing. Regardless of the ultimate outcome of tariff negotiations between the EEC and the United States, economic, political and geographic change will come about, and, for the record, this change would have come about with or without the EEC. European imports from the outside world were in the process of (change sources) development a decade or more before the EEC came into existence.

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EUROPEAN UNIFICATION: A HISTORICAL NECESSITY

> *"What does it matter whether two nations are separated by rivers or mountains, or that they speak different idioms? Europe is but one province of the world: when we make war, we make civil war. I should have liked to have made of these peoples one single and uniform national body."*
>
> \- Napoleon

Though this august Frenchman may have been one of the more distinguished promoters for European unification, he certainly did not generate any new revolutionary concept in this issue. A United Europe is not a new notion but an old one revived. The dream of order and unity once embodied in the Rome of the Caesars lived on throughout the Medieval period, not only in the institution of the Roman Catholic Church, but in that strangely viable anachranism, the Holy Roman Empire. Even after it disintegrated, and the last remnants of feudalism gave way to popular nationalism, the European ideas of unity survived. For the better part of 2000 years the culture, commerce and conquests of Western Europe shaped the world's destinies.

But as European influence grew internationally so did the scale of its conflicts, and at the end of the second World War, Europe lay prostrate between the new giants in world affairs, the United States and Soviet Russia. At this juncture in history, it appeared that the old Europe was now dead. Thus a new hope arose that a truly united Europe, liberated from the nationalistic antagonisms of the past, might blossom fruitfully. However, the need for unity was one thing; the technique of achievement of it another. After World War II it was clear that not only politics but economics demanded a solution be found for the unrealistic compartmentalization of Europe.

In the immediate postwar years; Churchill sparked the movement for a United Europe. On September 19, 1946, at the University of Zurich he remarked: ".... What is the ....remedy? It is to re-create the European Family...and provide it with a structure under which it can dwell in peace, in safety and in freedom. We must build a kind of United States of Europe."[1] Even before the war had ended, another European nationalist was concerned with the future of not only his native France, but that of the European Community. He was Jean Omer Marie Gabriel Monnet, who is credited with fostering the concept of a combined European Economy as early as 1943.

This new stimulation for the present integration of Western Europe was also derived from external spheres. Soviet Russia's European satellites were well along the road to complete integration. Through a Council for Mutual Economics Assistance (known as COMECON)*, the Soviet Union was welding Eastern Europe into one powerful and coordinated industrial community whose focus was centered on the East. Fear of expanding Soviet power gave the western European Unification movement much of its impetus. As Paul-Henri Spark later observed: "The European nations are somewhat like scattered chicks. When they see a hawk hovering above them...they tend to come together."[2]

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[1] European Community, Information Service, Political Unity in Europe: A Selection of Key Documents (Washington)

* Members: Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Soviet Union. Observers: Red China, North Korea, North VietNam, Outer Mongolia.

Strong American support for European integration also acted as a major catalyst in galvanizing specific action. In 1947, the United States offered massive aid under the Marshall Plan on condition that European countries chart the outlines of their rehabilitation. This prompted fourteen European countries to form the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) for the purpose of administering the Marshall Plan aid and pioneering in economic cooperation. In response to the rapid expansion of Soviet power and pressure, the North Atlantic Treaty organization, eventually composing fifteen members, was established in April 1949 both as a defensive military alliance and as a potential mechanism for developing political, economic, social and cultural cooperation among the member countries.

By 1950 the situation was ripe. An unprecedented sense of urgency and resolve gripped Western Europe. On May 9, Robert Schuman, then Foreign Minister of France, acted on the advice of Jean Monnet, France's director for postwar economic recovery, and proposed that a coal and steel community be formed to serve as a pilot project for the development of a United Europe. After a few hectic months of drafting the lengthy and complicated treaty, the institutions of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) began work in the city of Luxembourg, the provisional capital of the Community, on August 10, 1952.

Attendant with this new economic re-evaluation of the European scene were new political considerations. First there were neutralist currents of opinion which arose chiefly out of the fears, resentments and suspicions generated by the Cold War. Many Europeans felt that they would be forced to bear the brunt of any nuclear holocaust. Lack of confidence in United States policy, often depicted as addicted to "brinkmanship", contributed to defeatist or neutralist feelings. As a form of European neutralism, the "third force" concept appealed to two additional emotions: a belief that both the American and Soviet ways of life represented basically similar materialistic interests; and a hope that a strong and united Europe would mediate between the two superpowers to preserve peace. Yet, in the last analysis, the "third force" movement was restrained somewhat by the realization among the European Community that their survival hinged on the nuclear capability of the United States.

Governed by this sober assessment of Western Europe's vulnerability, the foreign ministers of ECSC contemplated further steps toward integration. In April 1956, they finally agreed to draft treaties for a common market and an atomic energy commission. Both treaties were signed in Rome on March 25, 1957, and came into effect on January 1, 1958, formally establishing the European Economic Community (EEC) and Euratom. Six Continental nations* were now bound together in three distinct but inter-locking communities, thus marking a new era in European history.

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[2] J. Warren Nystrom and Peter Malof, The Common Market: European Community in Action, (New York, 1962), page 9.

* The members of the EEC are: Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Germany, (F.R.), France and Italy.

SUPPLEMENT

Main Provisions of the European Economic Community Treaty:

1. Tariffs, quotas and other barriers to trade among the Six will be gradually eliminated over a period of 12 to 15 years.

2. Provision is made for temporary postponement of scheduled tariff reductions where the adjustments forced by the tariff reduction would be too severe.

3. Over the course of 12 to 15 years, in conformity with the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, a uniform tariff schedule will be created between the Six and the rest of the world.

4. Restrictions on the movement of services, labor, capital and business enterprises among the Six are to be abolished and payments are to be freed to the extent required to make this effective.

5. The colonies and associated territories of the Six, principally in Africa, are to be permanently liked to the Common Market unless the territories decide otherwise.

6. Cartels and similar private trade restraining devices are prohibited unless they contribute to improvements in production and distribution to technical and ecnomic progress.

7. The members agree to coordinate monetary and fiscal policies with a view to achieving, in each country, balance in the overall international payments, high employment and general price stability.

8. A common, but not a free market, agricultural policy is to be established within the Community.

9. Two investment Funds are to be established, one to operate in Europe and one to operate in the overseas territories of the Six.

10. The principle of equal pay for equal work for women and men is to be applied throughout the Community and methods of computing overtime payment will be harmonized on the French Standard.

11. A Social Trend is to be established to help relieve possible economic injuries resulting from the liberalization of trade within the market.

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THE CENTRAL TREATY ORGANIZATION

ORIGIN

The Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) began, as did its regional sister alliances the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949 and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) in 1954, as a response of free peoples to the threat from communism. The establishment of the alliance demonstrated the determination of the Middle Eastern members, forming what has been known as the "northern tier," to preserve their independence by resisting Communist aggression or subversive penetration and by working together for stability. In addition to their membership in CENTO, Turkey belongs to NATO and Pakistan is a member of SEATO.

CENTO's existence dates from February 24, 1955, when Turkey and Iraq, consistent with articles of the U.N. Charter dealing with regional arrangements and collective security, signed the Pact of Mutual Cooperation (the Baghdad Pact). The Pact was open to accession by any other states "actively concerned with security and peace in this region." The United Kingdom joined the alliance on April 5, Pakistan on September 23, and Iran on November 3, 1955. After the revolution in Iraq overthrowing the Hashemite regime on July 14, 1958, that country took no further part in the work of the Pact and formally withdrew on March 24, 1959. The headquarters was transferred from Baghdad to Ankara in August 1958, and the new name, Central Treaty Organization, was adopted on August 19, 1959.

Although the formation of the Pact of Mutual Cooperation in 1955 was stimulated by the security concerns of the post-World War II period, the roots of cooperation among the countries of the region actually reach considerably further back. The states of the Turco-Iranian plateau had recognized a certain community of interests in the Saadabad Pact which was concluded by Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Afghanistan in 1937. And in 1954 Pakistan and Turkey had signed an agreement for friendly cooperation as a result of their desire for closer relations.

CENTO, however, has broadened and deepened collaboration among the regional member states, within its own framework as well as in other ways. Drawing upon their experience in CENTO, Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey formed an organization in 1964 known as Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD) to promote the economic development of the area.

The U.S. Role

Although the United States had encouraged the formation of the Pact, it did not itself become a formal member, accepting instead an invitation to participate in Council meetings in the role of an observer. The United States did become, however, a formal participant in the Organization's committees, and since the early years of the alliance has supported and taken an active part in all its work.

When the Ministerial Council met in London on July 28 and 29, 1958, shortly after the Iraqi revolution, Iran, Pakistan, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States signed a declaration which reaffirmed the determination of the member states to continue the alliance and which stated that the United States "in the interest of world peace, and pursuant to existing Congressional authorization, agrees to cooperate with the nations making this Declaration for their security and defense, and will promptly enter into agreements designed to give effect to this cooperation."

Subsequently, the United States signed identical bilateral executive agreements with Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey on March 5, 1959. These agreements were executed pursuant to authority created by the Mutual Security Act of 1954 and the Joint Resolution of the Congress in 1957 to Promote Peace and Stability in the Middle East (the Eisenhower Doctrine). The agreements provided that in case of aggression against any of the three countries, the United States, in accordance with the U.S. Constitution, would take such appropriate action, including the use of armed forces, as may be mutually agreed upon and as envisaged in the Joint Resolution. The United States reaffirmed that it would continue to furnish the three countries such military and economic assistance as may be mutually agreed upon.

The agreements provide that the security arrangements would be called into effect only in the event of Communist aggression as envisaged by the Congressional measures under which the agreements were developed. Secretary of State Christian A. Herter's opening statement at the Pact's 1959 Ministerial Council meeting in Washington, D.C., made clear that United States support of the organization was designed to resist Communist aggression.

ORGANIZATION

The Council

The Council is the highest body of the Central Treaty Organization. It provides a forum for continuous consultation on political and economic issues as well as military matters affecting the mutual interests of the member states.

The Council meets at the Ministerial level and at the Deputy level. Ministerial meetings have usually been held annually, with each CENTO capital in turn acting as host and providing the chairman. Each country is normally represented by its Foreign Minister. The Council, which makes all decisions on the basis of unanimity, reviews the work accomplished through subordinate bodies of the Organization, approves future programs, and exchanges views on international issues of common interest.

Continuing consultation and detailed direction are accomplished by regular meetings of the Council at the Deputy level. Each CENTO country's Ambassador to Turkey serves as a Deputy on the Council. Turkey is represented by an official of ambassadorial rank from the Turkish Foreign Ministry. The Council of Deputies usually meets once a fortnight in Ankara and is chaired by CENTO's Secretary General, Turgut Menemencioglu.

While the United States attends Council meetings as an observer, it participates fully in the discussions. The Secretary of State heads the U.S. delegation at the Ministerial meetings, and the U.S. Ambassador to Turkey attends those at the Deputy level.

Four major committees are responsible to the Council: the Military Committee, the Economic Committee, the Counter-Subversion Committee, and the Liaison Committee. These committees meet once a year in a CENTO capital and serve to keep the Council in close touch with the work CENTO does in specialized fields. They review and guide the work of subordinate bodies and prepare reports of their activities for the Council. The United States is a full member of all four committees of the Council.

The Military Committee

CENTO's military work lies mainly in coordination of existing military resources of its members. The Military Committee makes recommendations to the Council with a view to strengthening the military security of member countries and insuring their effective cooperation in defense matters. At the annual meetings of the Committee each country has usually been represented by its Chief of Staff.

Like the Council, the Military Committee is represented by a group of Deputies permanently stationed at Ankara and available for decisions at any time. This group of five military officer (Permanent Military Deputies Group -- PMDG) carries out the decisions of the Military Committee and supervises a Combined Military Planning Staff (CMPS) stationed with the CENTO Secretariat at Ankara. The CMPS, a small staff of experienced military officers drawn from the five participating countries, prepares and coordinates plans and combined training exercises.

The Economic Committee

This Committee is responsible to the Council for CENTO's regional economic development program. Member states are represented at the annual meetings by ministers or other top-ranking officials. Activities undertaken at the Committee's direction range from railroad construction to seminars on mineral development and practical training in marketing fruits and vegetables.

The Economic Committee is assisted by an Economic Experts Group, which meets annually at CENTO headquarters to review in technical detail the year's work of all subcommittees; and by an Economic Steering Group, which meets regularly in Ankara to provide continuing guidance for the economic activities, especially in the intervals between the annual meetings of the Economic Committee and the Economic Experts Group.

Subcommittees are entrusted with implementing CENTO's economic program in certain fields. There are, for instance, subcommittees on communications, agriculture, and health. There are also a number of "working parties" in such specialized areas as mining, agricultural marketing, cholera, development of ranges, narcotics control, and agricultural statistics. One of the working parties supervises the CENTO Multilateral Technical Cooperation Fund, a special arrangement under which Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey offer technical training at their national facilities to selected trainees from the other two regional countries. The result is a sharing within the region of skills and experience available in one regional country but not in another.

The Council for Scientific Education and Research evaluates and approves for the Economic Committee those regional scientific and research activities recommended by a Scientific Coordinating Board. The Board administers CENTO's scientific program which is financed through a Multilateral Science Fund.

Counter-Subversion Committee

This Committee advises the Council on how best to meet and counter Communist efforts to weaken the CENTO regional governments through subversion.

The Liaison Committee

The Liaison Committee supplements the work of the Counter-Subversion Committee by facilitating the exchange of information among the CENTO countries on questions relating to the security of the region.

The Secretariat

The Secretariat is CENTO's permanent administrative and operational agency. It is located in Ankara and is headed by a Secretary General who is responsible to the Council for the conduct of all Secretariat operations. The Secretary General also serves as Chairman of the Council of Deputies. A high-ranking Turkish civilian official is currently filling the post; previously the position was held by similarly high-ranking government officials from Iran and Pakistan. The Secretary General is appointed by the Council. The term of office is normally 3 years, but may be extended.

WORK OF THE ALLIANCE

Cooperating for Defense

The military work of CENTO lies principally in the fields of planning, coordination, and training. The Combined Military Planning Staff, under the direction of the Permanent Military Deputies Group, performs this work since a unified command structure has not been established. U.S. and U.K. military assistance to the regional members has been provided for the most part on a bilateral basis.

Some aspects of the CMPS's planning are tested in the regular series of war games and combined military exercises that constitute the CENTO training program. Annual regional air defense exercises test the readiness and capacities of installations and equipment, and offer personnel an opportunity to work together under simulated wartime conditions. This element of actual experience in carrying out a complex military operation with forces drawn from different countries is an important part of the annual maritime exercise, known by its code name MIDLINK, which is staged off the coast of Iran.

Other annual exercises for which the Combined Military Planning Staff is responsible include air search and rescue, and small arms competitions. NATO officers are invited to observe these testing and training maneuvers from time to time, and CENTO representatives attend some NATO exercises.

Another duty of the Planning Staff is to draw up standardization agreements on military procedures and terminology. Standardized procedures make it possible, for example, for ships of the different CENTO navies to operate together as a single unit. Similarly, if ground forces are to have close air support by planes of another country, both want to be very certain that visual, radio, and other communications are mutually understood. Many such standardization agreements have been drawn up and approved, covering everything from mapping specifications to combat communications. The CMPS also is charged with assuring that the CENTO standardization agreements are compatible with NATO specifications, and maintains constant liaison with NATO for this purpose.

Regular conferences, stemming from CMPS responsibilities for coordination, are held on technical military subjects directly related to potential CENTO combined operations. Senior officers from the five participating countries gather to discuss such topics as air defense coordination, naval planning, communications, mapping, and military medicine. The exchanges serve to keep officers up to date on current practices in each of the countries concerned, and sometimes point up the need for new standardization agreements.

A related activity is the CENTO Professional Military Development Program, under which groups of selected officers study more generalized military subjects of professional interest. Initiated and carried on by the United States as part of its contribution to CENTO, seminars have been held on the following topics: Military Civic Action Programs; Procedures, Methods, and Techniques of Planning within National Military Establishments; Programming within National Military Establishments; Search and Rescue; Air Support of Ground Forces; and Training of Army Officers and Non-Commissioned Officers. The proceedings and papers presented at these seminars are published for circulation among officers in the CENTO countries.

Over the years a considerable number of officers from the CENTO countries have worked together in the alliance's military activities. All have acquired valuable knowledge and experience thereby, and such cooperation has resulted in better understanding and close friendships among scores of officers of the five countries.

Cooperating for Economic Development

CENTO's regional economic development program has been the subject of increasing interest and emphasis. Benefits from completed major projects are beginning to be felt, and new cooperative endeavors are being undertaken.

CENTO economic projects are implemented in many ways. A major construction project may require advanced technical equipment not readily available in the region -- from bulldozers and harbor cranes to complicated electronic gear. On projects such as building roads and railroads and developing harbors the United States and the United Kingdom have provided needed equipment, either through loans to the regional governments or by supplying the equipment directly. For more complex projects like the CENTO Microwave System or High-Frequency Radio Link, design, engineering, and installation have been done by U.S. or U.K. contractors.

In all cases the regional governments have contributed a major share of the effort in furnishing facilities, land, engineering services, construction materials, labor, and other essential ingredients. Details are worked out in bilateral agreements between the regional government and the Western partner concerned. Other projects are implemented by agreements among the regional governments only, or by an individual regional government alone, CENTO having served chiefly as a catalyst.

U.S. aid during the early years of CENTO was mostly in grants for specific projects such as a total of about $20 million for the Microwave System. Later U.S. financing for major capital projects was through long-term loans. Recently, grants to finance technical and scientific conferences, grants to finance training workshops, and the services of experts have been provided with emphasis on the fields of agriculture, health, and education.

The United Kingdom has contributed an annual sum, raised in 1966 from 850,000 pounds sterling to £1 million, for financing certain CENTO economic development activities. About half of this amount has been for supplies, equipment, and engineering services for projects such as roadbuilding and the High-Frequency Radio Link. The other half has been earmarked for technical assistance such as providing advisers, teachers, and fellowships for advanced training in the United Kingdom.

Communications

The great need for better communications in an integrated pattern throughout the CENTO region led to early emphasis on telecommunications, roads, railways, ports, and a modern airway system. At the time of CENTO's inception, no railways or telegraph lines crossed common boundaries to link the regional members. Only a few vehicles attempted to travel the one hazardous mountain road between Iran and Turkey, or the desert track crossing the Iran-Pakistan border. Telephone and telegraph traffic among the three countries had to be routed through Europe, usually via London. Aircraft were almost helpless in bad weather due to lack of ground controls.

The ultramodern CENTO Microwave Telecommunications Network, the longest in the world at the time it was completed in 1965, uses 88 stations to cover the 3,060 miles from Ankara to Karachi. The stations are from 11 miles to 106 miles apart, located in cities, on snowy mountain peaks as high as 9,200 feet, and on flat deserts. Some require antenna towers more than 400 feet high. The main terminals are in Ankara, Tehran, and Karachi, but stations near 22 other towns and cities along the route are equipped to connect local telephone and teletype circuits into the network. Thus people living in any town connected with its own country's ordinary trunk line system can talk to any town on the trunk line system of any of the tree countries. When stepped up to full present capacity, as many as 600 simultaneous telephone conversations are possible. Alternatively, more than 14,000 teletype circuits, or any telephone/teletype combination, can be accommodated.

The CENTO High-Frequency Radio Link connects Dacca, Rawalpindi, Karachi, Tehran, Ankara, and Istanbul directly with London, and thereby with the outside world in general, by shortwave radio telephone and teleprinter circuits. There is also a link between Tehran and Khorramshahr in southern Iran.

A major United States-supported joint capital project is the construction of a Turkish-Iranian rail link, scheduled for completion in 1969. Such a link between the two national rail systems has long been a dream of the leaders of both countries. To complete this link it is necessary to connect the railheads in Mus, Turkey, and in Sharifkhaneh, Iran. The distance between them is only about 285 miles, but the route has to cross some of the most rugged terrain of that part of the world. When this rail link is completed it will stimulate economic development of previously isolated areas in both countries. It will promote trade between the two countries and give Iran an alternative to its present rail route to Europe which passes through the Soviet Union.

The nearly completed CENTO Airway System will provide the three countries of the CENTO region with a fully controlled air route meeting international standards, including radar-equipped air traffic control centers at Ankara, Tehran, and Karachi.

Other major communications projects which have been undertaken as a result of CENTO planning include construction or improvement of all-weather roads linking the three countries and development of the cargo-handling capacities of Turkish ports.

While much remains to be done, the regional countries of CENTO today are being linked as never before in history by improved communications.

Agriculture

More than three-quarters of the populations of Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey depend upon agriculture for their livelihood. Many of the agricultural problems faced by each country are similar. CENTO has made a concentrated effort to help solve these problems and to increase food production. While emphasis had been placed on spreading knowledge of modern farming and veterinary techniques, attention has also been given to the managerial, financing, and marketing aspects of agricultural production.

Numerous technical experts have been provided by the United States and the United Kingdom on a temporary basis for various agricultural projects. More than a score of conferences and seminars on specific problems have been held, and equipment has been provided to universities and other institutions concerned with agricultural and livestock-raising problems. CENTO's Agricultural Machinery and Soil Conservation Training Center provides training for 20 to 30 students from the three regional countries each year. The Center is financed by the United Kingdom, Iran, Turkey, and Pakistan.

Health

The CENTO regional economic development program has also laid stress on cooperation in the field of health:

- Malaria eradication programs have been coordinated in the three regional countries.

- An Emergency Working Party on Cholera was formed in 1966, and its recommendations led to a number of steps to stop the spread of cholera. Iran and Pakistan provided special training in anti-cholera techniques to a team of Turkish doctors; the United States provided the services of a Regional Cholera Coordinator; and a stockpile of anti-cholera material has been built up.

- Hospital administration, the training of nurses and other medical personnel, nutrition, and sanitation are among other public health topics on which CENTO conferences and seminars have been held.

- Family planning is a relatively new field of interest and concern for CENTO, and considerable progress is anticipated.

U.S. Technical Assistance

As a United States contribution to CENTO's economic program, a small, effective technical assistance program has been developed under the supervision of the Office of the United States Economic Coordinator for CENTO in Ankara, Turkey. The program was designed to foster regional cooperation for economic development by supporting technical activities related to problems common to at least two (and normally all three) of the CENTO regional countries. U.S. support is primarily given to regional conferences, symposia, traveling seminars, workshops, and short and medium-term expert advisory services and consultant contracts. Almost all major fields of economic development have been covered by these activities with concentration in the areas of agriculture, health and nutrition, education, minerals, and industrial development. Technical experts, planners, and administrators in each of these fields have been brought together from all CENTO countries to consult on mutual problems and to take advantage of each other's experience.

THE BROAD VIEW

The Central Treaty Organization is part of the web of friendly ties and cooperation that exists among Iran, Pakistan, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States. It is an example of international cooperation which has put down roots.

Constructed on a foundation of common interest and goals, it complements and builds upon a wide range of active bilateral relationships. The alliance has lived through years of important changes both in the Middle East and in the world at large. It still meets a need of countries gathered together in support of their common defense and welfare.

CENTO has not only provided a security umbrella, but also has been helping to encourage economic and social development among the peoples of Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey. The promotion of a regional cooperative spirit among them has been a basic CENTO contribution toward their development of new sources of strength.

Department of State Publication 8418

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON CENTO REGIONAL MEMBERS

	IRAN	PAKISTAN	TURKEY
Area	630,000 sq. mi.	365,000 sq. mi.	296,000 sq. mi.
Population	26,000,000	120,000,000	32,500,000
Capital	Tehran	Islamabad	Ankara
Chief of State	Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi	President Mohammad Ayub Khan	President Cevdet Sunay
Chief of Government	Prime Minister Amir Abbas Hoveyda	President Mohammad Ayub Khan	Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel
Principal Religion	Islam (95%) (Mostly Shi 'a Islam)	Islam (88%) (Mostly Sunni Islam)	Islam (98%) (Mostly Sunni Islam)
Principal Language (s)	Farsi	Bengali, Urdu	Turkish
Literacy Rate	20%	16%	55%
Total Labor Force	18,000,000 (1966) (46.7% in agriculture)	30,000,000 (73% in agriculture)	13,700,000 (74% in agriculture)
Gross National Product	$6,933,000,000 (1967)	$11,000,000,000	$9,445,000,000
GNP/Per Capita	$259 (1967)	$93	$285
Exports	$1,309,000,000 (88% petroleum)	$632,000,000	$525,000,000
Imports	$930,000,000	$1,090,000,000	$683,000,000
Trade Balance	+$379,000,000	- $458,000,000	- $158,000,000
Electric Power	885,000 kw capacity (1967)	1,965,000 kw capacity (1967)	1,631,000 kw capacity (1966)
	2,800,000,000 kw-hrs produced (1967)	5,500,000,000 kw-hrs produced (1967)	5,350,000,000 kw-hrs produced (1966)
	114 kw-hrs per capita (1967)	51 kw-hrs per capita (1967)	136 kw-hrs per capita (1966)
Railroads	2,227 miles	7,940 miles	5,030 miles
Highways	22,000 miles	71,850 miles	37,100 miles
Paved Highways	3,400 miles	12,250 miles	6,000 miles
Major Sea Ports	5-Khorramshahr, Abadan, Bandur Shapur, Bandar Muhshahr, Kharg Island	2-Karachi, Chittagong	3-Istanbul, Izmir, Mersin
Growth Rate (1968, GNP)	9%	7%	7%
Total U.S. Economic Aid (through 1967)	$958,200,000	$3,304,200,000	$2,421,900,000
Membership in International Organizations	United Nations[1] CENTO, Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD), Org. of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), Colombo Plan, Int'l. Hydrographic Bureau (IHB)	United Nations[1] CENTO, RCD, SEATO, Colombo Plan, British Commonwealth, Asian Development Bank, IHB	United Nations[1] CENTO, RCD, NATO, Council of Europe, European Economic Community (Associate Member), IHB

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[1] All three countries are members of the following United Nations Organizations: Food and Agriculture Organization, Int'l. Atomic Energy Association, Int'l. Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Int'l. Civil Air Organization, Int'l. Development Association (IBRD affiliate), Int'l. Finance Corporation (IRBD affiliate), Int'l. Labor Organization, Inter-Govt. Maritime Consultative Org., Int'l. Monetary Fund, Int'l. Telecommunications Union, UNESCO, Universal Postal Union, World Health Organization and World Meteorological Organization.

Film guide; "American Foreign Policy: Confrontation (1945-53)" 16 mm, 32 minutes
Encyclopaedia Britannica Educational Corporation

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY: CONFRONTATION (1945-53)

- To analyze the breakdown of the worldwide balance of power systems after World War II and the development of a bipolar power system in the world.

- To trace the development of the concept and practice of containment as a foreign policy tactic.

- To show that a nation's foreign policy goals are limited by, and must be consistent with, other national interests - economic, social, political, moral and military.

- To illustrate the effects of technology upon foreign policy, especially with regard to the growing need for collective security.

- To reexamine the concept of war as the ultimate tactic of diplomacy.

HIGHLIGHTS

"The Atomic bomb ended the Second World War. There were some who said it was the beginning of the American century. No other fact of foreign policy is so important. No act of foreign policy can be taken without considering that fact."

The United States, physically untouched by war, holding a nuclear monopoly, and a clear advantage in military technology, was forced to assume leadership of the Western World in the min-1940's. The world had divided into two hostile camps - the West and the East. The confrontation of these two power blocs in such places as Greece, Turkey, and Berlin led to the creation of such policies as the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, and ultimately the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

By 1950, however, events conspired to challenge American leadership. A Communist state was established in China, thus forcing the United States to formulate a new Far East policy. Across the plains of Eurasia, Russia exploded her first atomic bomb, thus upsetting the United States atomic monopoly.

The confrontation in Asia (Korea, 1950-1953) led the United States and the United Nations to assume new responsibilities in attempting to avoid a nuclear World War III. The acceptance of a limited war in Korea illustrated the growing flexibility of American foreign policy.

ACTIVITIES

1. Historian Henry Steele Commager defines a world power as one that is directly interested in all parts of the world and whose voice must be listened to everywhere. Have the students list on the board or on paper at their desks the factors that have been responsible for the rise of the United States to the position of a world power.

2. Determine the meaning of the following terms. How would you apply each to the immediate post-war period?

Balance of power
Sphere of influence
Power vacuum
Isolationism
Imperialism
Pax Britannica
Hegemony
Totalitarianism
Asia for Asians
Deutschland Uber Alles
Puppet states
Pan-Slavism
Power politics

3. Assign individual reports on the effects of the following wartime conferences on postwar relations between East and West.

Casablanca
Dumbarton Oaks
Yalta
Potsdam

4. Organize a panel to discuss and analyze the Potsdam and other conferences to determine how the Allies proposed to divide the postwar world. What assumptions were made by the Allies about postwar collaboration among their governments? (Suggested reading, Nos. 4, 5, 17)

5. Discuss with the class: Why was peace sustained for such a long time prior to World War I? (There were actually no major conflicts upon the European scene from 1815 to 1914.) How does the term Pax Britannica help to explain this situation?

6. Review the Open Door policy. Why was this policy established? What commitments did the United States make to enforce this policy? (Suggested reading, Nos. 4,5)

7. Today we count Germany and Japan as our trusted Allies. Yet in World War II they were our bitterest enemies. Ask the class to discuss the reasons for our antagonisms then and our amicability now. (Suggested reading, Nos. 9, 12, 16, 17)

8. Have the class research the following questions and prepare a brief written report that brings them together into one theme: The Value of Containment.

a. How did the policy of containment come into existence?
b. How did that policy become an issue in the 1952 campaign?
c. How did the candidates react to the use of that policy?
d. How has the policy survived since?

(Suggested reading, Nos. 1, 9, 11, 12, 17)

9. Have the class select several significant examples of the American containment policy in action (such as the Berlin airlift, Formosa defense, Korean action). Ask them to evaluate each application of the containment policy in terms of (a) appropriateness to the situation, (b) method of application, and (c) success or failure of the policy.

10. Assign individual reports on the following aspects ofpostwar American foreign policy.

Marshall Plan
Truman Doctrine
NATO
Limited war in Korea

In writing their reports, students should consider (a) the purpose of each plan, (b) the forms of American participation, and (c) the immediate and long-range results of United States Actions. (Suggested reading, Nos. 4,5,6,8,17)

11. General MacArthur and President Truman engaged in a classic disagreement over the general validity of the containment policy. The President interpreted it in a manner that equated the Korean stalemate with a successful program of containing Communist expansion. The General rejected that conclusion, arguing that containment does not preclude the need for total military victories.

Divide the class into two groups and have each defend one of the above positions. (Suggested reading Nos. 1,3,8,12)

12. Ask the class to consider in open discussion the question: Why was the willingness of the United States to confront the Soviet Union throughout the postwar world a historic revolution in American foreign policy?

DISCUSSION

Focus for discussion. How did the victorious role of the United States in World War II, the collapse of European unity, and the rise of the Soveit Union foster a policy of containment?

United States Power After World War II

In 1945 the atomic bomb ended the Second World War. There were some who said it was the beginning of the American century.

Questions	Ideas to Develop
1. Why did some people feel that the atomic bomb that ended World War II marked the beginning of the American century?	The United States, by virtue of its economic position, and its monopolgy on the atom bomb, was the undisputed ruler in the free world. Additionally its posture as a military force and a creditor nation further enhanced this image.
2. What did the United States as a world leader do to promote international peace? What were the goals of United States foreign policy during this period?	America's economic and military might was shared or given freely to much of Western Europe. Its recovery plans (Truman Doctrine) for many countries were motivated by humanitarian principles as well as self-interest considerations. In effect the United States sought to preserve the peace largely by preserving the postwar balance of power.
3. Compare and contrast both Eastern and Western Europe with the United States in terms of political and economic stability, and physical capacity just after the war, 1945-47.	Despite the global aspects of the war, the United States was unscathed as far as its land was concerned. Its machinery of productionaand psychological attitudes were healthy. By contrast the European nations - East and West, vanquished and victor - were laid waste by the ravages of the war. The processes of rebuilding were awesome, psychologically as well as physically.

Concept applications.

- What was the economic position of the United states, vis-à-vis the rest of the world in the immediate postwar years?
- Why did the United States not retreat from world affairs as it did after World War I?
- How did the existence of the atomic bomb affect the formulation of United States foreign policy during the years of its monopoly? During the years since Russia ended the monopoly?

The Cold War Confrontation: First Stage in Europe

> *From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an Iron Curtain has descended across the continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of ancient states of central and eastern Europe...And all are subject in one form or another not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and in some cases increasing measure of control from Moscow.*
>
> —— *Winston Churchill, 1946*

Questions	Ideas to Develop
1. What examples were given in the film of United States-Soviet confrontation?	The confrontation extended from the Iranian border crisis in 1946 through the Berlin airlift, and ultimately to the major assault of the Korean crisis. The last episode, more than any others, committed the United States to long-range engagement in a cold war with the Soviet Union.
2. What challenge did the United States face in these confrontations? How effective were United States reactions?	The challenge was to the stability of the postwar order to which the United States had attached its interests. Once the United States accepted the challenge, its response was convincing both economically and militarily. The effect was to raise the stakes in the cold war and exact from the Soviet Union a higher price than it had originally counted on paying for foreign expansion.
3. What tactics did the Soviet Union use in Greece and Turkey to further its interests?	Turkey was faced with a large Soviet army on its border, which threatened its safety. In Greece a native Communist movement aided and supplied by other Communist nations was disrupting the nation's internal security and the reestablishment of the economy. Russia appears to have desired to gain a foothold in the mid-East via these nations.

4. In what ways was the weakness of England a cause of the Truman Doctrine? Why was it a limited document?	England's financial inability to maintain its own economy and its Middle Eastern interests created a power vacuum. In lieu of England's ability to aid others, the Truman Doctrine - an economic and military aid program - was initiated. No troops were committed; it was designed to contain and alleviate immediate problems.
5. What was the purpose of the Marshall Plan? Was it simply anti-Communist or was it a humanitarian response to current conditions?	It was both a plan for genuine assistance to rebuild the economy of Europe and a tactic of the policy of containment. Aid was also offered to the Eastern European bloc of nations, but it was declined.
6. Why did the Soviet Union blockade Allied entry into West Berlin? What was the United States response to this action?	The Soviet Union believed that, by virtue of Berlin's location over a hundred miles within their zone, the Allied powers would have to accept Soviet actions. The United States replied by implementing an around-the-clock, thirteen-month airlift of supplies, matériel, and men to the zone. When it became clear that the United States would not acquiesce in Soviet power plays, the blockade was lifted.
7. Why did the Truman Administration refuse to commit United States troops to save Chiang Kai-shek's regime during the 1948-1949 civil war?	United States military strategists advised against committing troops in a land war. Also many people in America were convinced that Chiang's regime was inefficient and corrupt. Some even predicted that a Communist victory might not be disastrous, since the Chinese Communists were in reality agricultural reformers.
8. What two events of 1949 threatened United States superiority in international relations?	First, the Soviet Union exploded its first atom bomb, thus canceling the United States monopoly on atomic weapons. Second, the Communists won a victory in China, thus destroying the postwar power base that the United States had hoped to use in Asia.

Concept Applications

- How would you describe the Iron Curtain today? How has it changed since 1950?
- How has the balance of power been altered since World War II?
- What is the strategic importance of Greece and Turkey for both the United states and the Soviet Union?
- What devices were used by the United States to protect its national interests in Europe from 1947 to 1950?
- How did the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan indicate a radical change in traditional American foreign policy?
- How did the death of Stalin signal the death of an era in United States-Soviet relations?

Korea: Massive Cold War Confrontation

> *I believe we must limit the war to Korea, for these vital reasons: to make sure that the precious lives of our fighting men are not wasted; to see that the security of our country and the free world is not needlessly jeopardized; and to prevent a Third World War.*
>
> _____*President Harry S. Truman, 1951*

1. What was the result of North Korea's invasion on United States global policy?	The United States went to the United Nations to ask for a united effort to maintain peace in Asia, thus enhancing the reputation of both the United States and the United Nations. On the other cold war front, the North Atlantic TreatyOrganization was formed and Germany was allowed to rearm.
2. In what manner did General MacArthur and Senator Taft respond to President Truman's comment reproduced above?	General MacArthur, a professional soldier, call for total victory and suggested bombing China with atomic weapons because of its physical support of North Korea. Senator Taft of Ohio complained that we were "stuck" in a hopeless game that we could not possibly win. He seemed to suggest that we would have to yield in the end.
3. General Eisenhower pledged during his presidential campaign that he would end the frustration of the Korean War. How did he implement the final truce?	President Eisenhower went to Panmunjon, Korea shortly after he was inaugurated. Negotiations begun earlier were resumed. A truce was signed on July 27, 1953. (The importance of the President's visit to the final settlement is open to debate.)
4. What did John Foster Dulles, President Eisenhower's new Secretary of State, mean by the term *massive retaliation*?	He indicated that the United States would meet any effort of Soviet expansion with our total military arsenal. The instrument of massive retaliation was to be the B-36 bombers of the Strategic Air Command.
5. What limitations are implied by the term *massive retaliation*?	In the film David Brinkley remarked, "The trouble was that massive retaliation was too massive. It was no good for small incidents in small places - no good against subversion - against guerrillas. And was in fact, good for one thing only; starting World War III."
6. The Korean War began and ended at the thirty-eighth parallel. Does this imply that Korea was a victory, a defeat, or a stalemate? What is the significance of this limitation with regard to the containment policy?	The nation - and both political parties - accepted the idea of less than total victory. It showed bipartisan acceptance of the idea of limited war. It also suggested a continuing acceptance of a containment policy in which restraint of the enemy (rather than his total defeat) was equated with success.

Concept Applications

- What is the concept of limited war? What has brought it about? Is it still applicable today?

- What limitations should politicians place on debate of fundamental principles of foreign policy in political campaigns?

- Why did both the Truman and Eisenhower administrations feel the need to publicize their foreign policy statements?

- What has been the impact of improved technology upon the policy of massive retaliation?

Summary Discussion Questions

- How and why did the United States engage in a major revolution in its foreign policy after World War II?

- In what manner has the United States confronted the threat of global Soviet expansion?

- How successfully has the United States met that threat?

- Why did the bipolarization of power after World War II make a policy of containment necessary?

SUGGESTED READING

1. Acheson, Dean. Power and Diplomacy, Harvard University Press, 1962 (also Atheneum paperback. Explanation by President Truman's Secretary of State of foreign policy during the beginnings of the cold war.

2. Agar, Herbert. The Price of Power: America Since 1945, University of Chicago Press, 1963. Historical overview of 1945 to 1957, the period during which America faced the responsibilities of power, and the bewilderment resulting from that new role.

3. Almond, Gabriel. The American People and Foreign Policy, Praeger, 1960. Analyzes the relationship between foreign policy and public opinion, and considers the psycholocical impact of the cold war.

4. Bailey, Thomas A. Diplomatic History of the American People, Appleton-Croft-Century 1964. Introductory survey which stresses the role of public opinion on the shaping of American foreign policy.

5. Bemis, Samuel. Diplomatic History of the United States, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1955. Classic history of American diplomacy written by a distinguished scholar.

6. Cottrell, Alvin J. and James E. Dougherty. The Politics of the Atlantic Alliance, Praeger, 1964. Comprehensive analysis of NATO.

7. Duetscher, Isaac. *The Great Contest: Russia and the West*, Ballantine, 1961. Shows that Soviet foreign policy stems - like that of most other countries - from its domestic policy. Duetscher indicates that Western naivete handicaps its relationship with Russia.

8. Fehrenbach, T. R. *This Kind of War*, Macmillan, 1963 (also Pocket Books paperback). Story of the Korean War. Attempts to place the actions of the Truman administration, as well as world reactions, in proper perspective.

9. Graebner, Norman A. *Cold War Diplomacy: American Foreign Policy, 1945-1960*. Van Nostrant (Anvil paperback), 1962. Concise scholarly study including a collection of timely foreign relations documents.

10. Howard, Michael. *Disengagement in Europe*, Penguin Special S175, 1958. A British historian examines proposals put forward since the war for reunifying Germany and liberating Eastern Europe from Communist control.

11. Jones, Joseph M. *The Fifteen Weeks: February 21 - June 5, 1947*, Harcourt, Brace & World (Harbinger paperback), 1965. Discussion of how and why the policy of containment came about, by a former State Department official.

12. Kennan, George F. *American Diplomacy: 1900-1950*, University of Chicago Press, 1951 (also Mentor paperback). This brief but trenchant classic is by one of America's most respected diplomats and political analysts, former ambassador to Russia, and an outspoken and intelligent exponent of realism applied to foreign affairs. Provocative analysis of a half century of United States foreign relations, with excellent chapters on Russia

13. Lukacs, John. *A History of the Cold War*, Doubleday (Anchor paperback), 1962. Approaches the cold war through the national characteristics of the United States and the Soviet Union.

14. Osgood, Robert E. *Ideals and Self-Interest in America's Foreign Relations*, University of Chicago Press (Phoenix paperback), 1964. A noted political scientist explores the dichotomy of United States foreign affairs - the forces of idealism and pragmatism during the twentieth century. Superior historical data.

15. Roberts, Henry L. *Russia and America*, New America Library (Mentor paperback), 1964. Excellent analysis of the relations between Russia and America.

16. Seton-Watson, Hugh. *Neither War Nor Peace: The Struggle for Power in the Postwar World*, Praeger, 1963. Analysis of imperialism, totalitarianism, and Western policy.

17. Spanier, John. *American Foreign Policy Since World War II*, Praeger, 1962. Discusses American foreign policy, beginning with the breakdown of the wartime alliance.Sees the nature of our military strategy and the future of underdeveloped countries as our major foreign policy problems.

18. Stebbins, Richard P. *The United States in World Affairs, 1960*, Vintage, 1961. A detailed account of international events and foreign policy decisions during the last year of the Eisenhower administration.

19. Wanamaker, Temple. *American Foreign Policy Today*, Bantam, 1964. Explanation of how our foreign policy is made, how it works, and the crucial problems it faces.

MIDDLE EAST - DISCUSSION ISSUES

PURPOSE OF THE "ISSUES" SERIES

To aid in the study of world affairs, with emphasis on basic information needed to understand the full scope of the problems. An attempt is made to broaden the student's field of vision -- to describe the total context within which policy decisions must be made, rather than centering on the decisions themselves. It is more the purpose of this series to raise questions than to answer them. In this way, it is hoped to emphasize in the study of foreign policy two vital ingredients:

- Recognition of the available alternatives -- the real options as distinguished from ideal solutions.

- Exercises in the decisionmaking process itself in which the student is asked to make a judgment on all the facts and then to face the more distant questions arising from the consequences of that judgment.

CONTENT:

The pamphlet "The Middle East" opens with a Regional Profile, a summary of basic information on the region. The profile section is divided into four parts:

I -- Predominantly Arab countries
II -- Non-Arab Muslim countries
III -- Non-Muslim countries
IV -- Ethnic groupings

Under these titles the region is examined with what might be called a horizontal sweep -- a "big picture" view. Also included in the profile, however, is a table of data on each country -- a sort of vertical view.

The profile section offers a convenient quick reference -- both country-by-country and on a regional basis -- for such data as land, literacy, population, GNP, per capita GNP, food, military and economic aid, types of government, predominant religions, land use, and ethnic background. These can be very useful inductive tools. Thoughtful study of the literacy and per capita GNP columns, for example, will give clues to the strengths and weaknesses of various countries.

The second section deals with the Arab-Israeli dispute and provides a chronology dating from formation of the Zionist movement in 1897, plus a special study of the situation of Jordan and the Arab refugee problem, and a short study of Middle East oil -- two prime factors in the regional equation.

The third section treats the history of the involvement in the area of three great powers. First is a description of the role played by Great Britain through the 19th and early 20th centuries. Then, the long roots of ambition of Imperial Russia and the U.S.S.R. are examined. Finally, the more recent role of the United States is described.

In the last section, questions are raised about conflicts of American and Soviet national interest, the dangers of great-power confrontation, the strategic importance of the region, and the possibility of real progress for its peoples.

FOR CLASSROOM DISCUSSION

What are the factors we need to consider in shaping U.S. policy toward the countries of the Middle East? A long list may be compiled from the enclosed pamphlet and from other sources. The following are illustrative:

1. *The state of development* of the countries concerned.

For this purpose, let us define "progressive" countries as those which are making *substantial* progress in raising the standard of living of the people. By that definition, which Middle East countries are most progressive, and which least? What reasons can be discovered for this difference? Which countries are trying unsuccessfully to be progressive? Why do they not succeed? Consider, for example, population growth, resources, and government emphasis on economic development vs. emphasis on building military strength, among other factors.

Assume that *political* progress means political institutions which are responsive to the will of the people. As a measure of that responsiveness, does the country permit open political dissent -- opposition parties, for example? If we change the definition of "progressive" countries above to include *political* progress as well as *economic* progress, how would this change the list of "progressive" countries? Which countries have stable political institutions, and which among these are more, or less, responsive to popular will? Are some countries economically progressive, but not politically? Are some politically progressive, but not economically? Where neighboring countries differ sharply in the degree to which they are making political and economic progress, is that likely to affect their relations, and if so, how? Could this have any bearing on the Arab-Israeli dispute? Does it have any bearing on the disputes between Arab states?

2. *Geography*. What is meant by the phrase "semitic peoples"? Is Turkey an Arab country? Is Iran (Persia) an Arab country? What is the difference between a Sunni Muslim and a Shi'ite Muslim? Are all Arabs Muslims? Are all Muslims Arabs? Who are the Berbers? The Armenians? The Kurds? The Israelis? What have the Israelis in common with their neighbors?

Why is the Middle East, with Europe, one of the areas which most threatens to cause a Soviet-U.S. confrontation? How does this region differ strategically from Southeast Asia? How is it similar?

Has the development of modern air transportation reduced the strategic importance of the Middle East?

What are the most important geographic features of Turkey? Of Iran? Of the countries on the Arabian peninsula? What is the fertile crescent? What is the Anatolian peninsula?

What is meant by "international straits"? Is the Strait of Tiran an international strait? The Suez Canal? The Bosporous and Dardanelles?

3. *History*. Why was there a history of conflict in the Middle East between Imperial Russia and Great Britain? What was the role of the Ottoman Empire before the 18th century? After the 18th century? What was the result of the Crimean War? How did the Soviet Union become an important power in the Middle East? How did the United States?

How is religion significant in the Middle East? Why is oil important, and how important will it be in the future? To what extent have individual personalities of Middle East leaders been significant?

TRAINING OF FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS

I. The need for regular inservice training of Foreign Service personnel established in 1947 - established Foreign Service Institute.

A. Open to all officers and employees of the Service and officers and employees of the Government for whom training and instruction in field of foreign relations necessary.

B. Now principal establishment of U.S. for training in field of foreign relations.

C. School consists of School of Foreign Affairs and School of Languages.

D. School of Foreign Affairs divided into three areas -

1. Language, area studies, and political science, university graduate schools for junior, midcareer, and senior officers.
2. Numerous seminars covering shorter periods of time for selected personnel.
3. Area courses in specialized functions in Foreign Service, such as administrative operations, budget management, etc.

E. Care of Institutes program in general career training for FSO. Consists of concentrated periods of full-time training at the basic level Class 8 - the midcareer level (4-6), and senior level (1-3).

1. Basic Foreign Service Officer Course
    a. Lasts 8 weeks
    b. Required of all newly appointed FSO-8's
    c. Instruction in duties and functions of FSO and survey of Dept. of State Service and relationships with other agencies.
    d. Training in procedures of reporting, trade promotion and protection, counselor services, and administration also.

2. Midcareer Course on Foreign Affairs
    a. Lasts 12 weeks (Area specialization 6-9 months or well in connection
    b. Selected FSO's with language spec.)
    c. Orient a greater awareness of general outlook and responsibilities of F.S. executive.

3. Senior Course in Foreign Affairs
    a. Lasts 9 months
    b. Selected on Threshold of high-level positions.
    c. Study political, economic, strategic, and administrative aspects of foreign policy problems.

F. Language Training

1. Intensive full-time training and part-time training.
2. All officers encouraged to acquire proficiency in two foreign languages and junior officers must become proficient in one of major world languages within reasonable time after appointed.
3. Training 6 months to 2 years.
4. Combined with area specialization.

5. 1960 - Of 3,629 officers - 2,346 had working
   a. knowledge or better of one or more world languages
   b. 588 knowledge of one or more world languages combined with knowledge of one or more so-called "hard" languages, 137 knowledge of one or more "hard" languages.
   c. 472 no significant language proficiency.

6. Chief deficiency in field of "hard languages" such as Hindi, Arabic, Chinese, Japanese - No officers possessing these skills 40% short of requirements.

7. Congress stated chiefs of missions and FSO should have useful knowledge of language of country in which they are to serve, and knowledge of its history, culture, etc.

8. 1963 - Legislation provided officer to country is filled only by an incumbent having such knowledge, except under special or emergency conditions.

CAREER DEVELOPMENT (Example)

1. After FSO-8 appointed receives 3 month course in Foreign Service work - followed by equal period of French language training.

2. Then assigned to Haiti for 2 years (French speaking). Assigned as visa officer but rotates among several different positions for experience.

3. Assigned to Vietnam, where he spends 2 years in Commercial work and time to perfect his French.

4. This completes developmental period in which he has gained experience both in basic Foreign Service functions and administrative work of Dept. Now FSO-5.

5. Then commences period of specialization lasting 11 years.
   a. Application accepted for S.E. Asia area and language training for 1 year 8 months at an American University and **at** Institute.
   b. Transferred to Burma as economic officer and remains there total of 4 years.
   c. Now full fledged area specialist and functional specialist by economic and commercial work.

6. Then sent to France for 2 years as political officer.

7. Specialization period of his career ends with 3 year assignment to Dept. as research officer on S.E. Asian affairs. Now FSO-3.

8. In following 3 years receives broader training.
   a. 3 month midcareer course at Institute.
   b. Then goes to Malaya for 2 years as principal officer of a consulate.
   c. After Malaya assignment attends Institute's Senior Course for 1 year. Now FSO-2.

9. Remaining years spent in policy and program work involving high responsibilities both in Department and abroad.

10. He returns to Burma for 4 years as deputy chief of mission and then assigned for 3 years to Policy Planning Staff of Dept. Now FSO-1 or Career Minister.

11. Chief of Mission, Deputy Ass't. Sec., or Ass't. Sec. for Far Eastern Affairs could follow.

Selection - Out

I. Can't remain at a particular level indefinitely.

II. If officer doesn't receive promotion by established time limit he is selected-out.

III. Subject to approval by several panels, etc.

Discussion Guide; A 29-minute film illustrating the nature of our American national interests abroad and the ways in which the United States Government works in foreign countries to advance those interests. Presented by the U.S. Department of State.

THE UNENDING STRUGGLE

PURPOSE

The well-being of the United States and of every one of its citizens is very much affected by developments in other parts of the world. Because this is so, our country works to influence developments in other parts of the world, to the extent that it can, in the direction of peace and progress.

In what ways are our interests at stake abroad? How do our representatives overseas work to defend and promote those interests? This film suggests some of the answers to these questions by giving actual examples from the everyday experience of our Government representatives in one foreign country. The answers suggested apply not only to this one country, but in differing degrees to our relations with other countries generally, around the world.

CONTENT

The film presents a series of documentary glimpses of the activities of the U.S. Mission to Ecuador. (The people, places, and events shown are real.)

The American officials shown at work are the U.S. Ambassador to Ecuador, whose responsibilities as head of the U.S. Mission embrace all U.S. Government activities in the country; a U.S. Information Service officer; the Chief of the Political Section of the U.S. Embassy at Quito, the capital; the Chief of the U.S. Military Mission; a U.S. AID Mission project officer; the Labor Attaché of the Embassy with the Labor Officer of the U.S. Consulate General at Guayaquil; and U.S. Consuls and Vice Consuls of the Embassy and Consulate General.

A sequence at the Quito city jail, where an American citizen accused of smuggling has been confined, suggests one basic U.S. interest in foreign countries -- the protection of our citizens abroad. Other interests suggested by different sequences of the film are:

(a) political -- our interest in the kind of political institutions and practices which develop in a country;

(b) economic -- our interest in the success or failure of the country's efforts to develop its economy and to offer its people a measure of progress;

(c) military -- our interest in the country's ability to maintain internal security against possible subversion attempts, and to deny its territory to any future enemy of the United States.

In portraying these interests the film also illustrates some of the principal tools of our diplomacy -- the means of carrying out foreign policy abroad, of exerting our influence.

These include, first, trained and experienced diplomatic manpower, competent to observe, to communicate, and to act in a variety of ways.

A second tool shown in use in the film is our foreign aid program -- here part of the broader Alliance for Progress program in Latin America.

Another is our overseas information activity, which concerns itself with what the peoples of foreign lands know and believe about critical world affairs.

Still another is our military cooperation with other countries, to strengthen their capacity for resistance to both internal and external attack, and to bring local military capabilities to bear on social development as well.

The concluding program of the film is a quotation from President Johnson (speech before the Associated Press at New York, April 20, 1964):

> *". . .We have gradually become aware that America is forever bound up in the affairs of the whole world. Our own future is linked to the future of all. In great capitals and in tiny villages, in the councils of great powers and in the rooms of unknown planners, events are being set in motion which will continually call upon our attention and our resources.*
>
> *"Prophecy is always unsure. But if anything is certain, it is that this nation can never again retreat from world responsibility . . . We will be involved in the world for the rest of our history. We must accustom ourselves to working for liberty in the community of nations as we have pursued it in our community of States.*
>
> *"The struggle is not merely long. The struggle is unending."*

BEFORE SHOWING THE FILM

In classroom use teachers may want to suggest that students watch for answers to these questions:

1. What does the film suggest about Ecuador -- its topography? its people? its state of economic development? its government?

2. Why are we Americans interested, as a nation, in what happens in Ecuador?

3. How could we be affected by what happens there?

4. How is the U.S. Government working for American interests in Ecuador?

5. With what tools does it work?

6. What are its objectives?

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Are our interests in Ecuador, as the film illustrates them, short-term interests, or more or less permanent? Are they special interests, applying primarily to Ecuador, or do they apply in other countries as well?

2. What important interests that are not mentioned in this film do we have in foreign countries? (For example, commercial and cultural interests are not mentioned directly--that is, our mutual interest in expanding trade with other countries and in sharing in the benefits of cultural inter-change.)

3. What other tools does diplomacy use, apart from those which appear in the film? (An example is active participation in international organizations of various kinds. Another is the process of seeking settlement of differences through negotiation. Still another is a systematic cultural exchange program.)

4. What are the qualities required to be an effective American Ambassador or Foreign Service officer?

5. Would the activities of a U.S. Mission be different in important respects in other large areas of the world--for example, in economically advanced Western Europe? in Communist-governed Europe? What would these differences be?

6. Why does the President say that "America is forever bound up in the affairs of the whole world," that "this nation can never again retreat from world responsibility"?

SOME DEFINITIONS

Ambassador--The American Ambassador is our highest ranking diplomatic officer. He is the personal representative of the President as well as the official representative of the U.S. Government in the country of his assignment. It is his job to supervise and coordinate all U.S. Government activities in that country. In most cases he is a career Foreign Service officer. The headquarters and staff of an Ambassador are called an embassy.

Foreign Service--The Foreign Service of the United States is a career diplomatic service. Its officer corps mans most of the substantive and administrative positions of the Department of State and carries out most diplomatic and consular functions abroad at our embassies and consulates.

Foreign Service officers--Foreign Service officers are career diplomatic officers appointed by the President after competitive examinations and promoted on merit with the advice and consent of the Senate. They normally serve at least half their careers at diplomatic and consular posts abroad, and the remainder at the Department of State or on detail to other foreign affairs agencies of the Government or to international organizations. Foreign Service Reserve officers are specialists appointed to meet particular needs of the Service.

United States Mission--The U.S. Mission to a country includes not only the Foreign Service personnel of the Department of State but also the representatives of all other U.S. Government agencies which have programs or activities in that country. In Ecuador, for example, these include the U.S. Agency for International Development, the U.S. Information Agency, and the Department of Defense, as illustrated in the film, and also the Peace Corps, Coast and Geodetic Survey, and National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

The head of a U.S. Mission is the American Ambassador. The various elements of a U.S. Mission, or their principal officers, together with the Ambassador, are sometimes referred to as the U.S. "country team" in that country.

AID Mission--The U.S. AID Mission is the overseas arm of the U.S. Agency for International Development. As a part of the United States Mission to a country in which we have an aid program, it assists in planning American assistance and supervises the distribution of the aid.

U.S. Information Service--The USIS is the overseas service of the U.S. Information Agency. Its job is to gain the understanding and support of foreign peoples for U.S. policies. For this purpose USIS employs all the media of mass communications.

Military Mission--The U.S. Military Mission to a country consists of personnel of the U.S. Armed Forces who assist in training the military services of that country.

Attachés--"Attaché" is a diplomatic title assigned to certain officers performing specialized duties at an embassy. Some attachés, such as the armed services attachés, Treasury attaché, or agricultural attaché, receive instructions from the heads of their respective Departments or agencies in Washington and send reports to those Departments; but they are always under the general supervision of the Ambassador and responsible to him for contributing to the overall objectives of the U.S. Mission.

Labor Attache--A Labor Attache (as in the film) is an officer of the U.S. Mission assigned to report on labor affairs and to work with organized labor in the country of his assignment.

Consul--A U.S. Consul is an official who represents his Government in a foreign country and carries out certain nondiplomatic functions, such as protecting American lives and property, assisting U.S. businessmen and seamen, and screening visa applications for visits or immigration to the United States. Consuls also report to their governments on political, economic, and commercial conditions in their district. A Vice Consul is a junior consular officer who assists a consul in carrying out his functions. A Consul General is a senior consular officer with supervisory responsibility for a large consular district or a number of smaller districts.

A consular office headed by a consul is called a consulate; by a consul general, a consulate general. All American consular officers are normally Foreign Service officers.

Alliance for Progress (Alianza para el Progreso)--The Alliance is a vast cooperative effort of the United States and 19 other American nations to raise the standards of living in Latin America. It was proposed by President John F. Kennedy and established by the Charter of Punta del Este on August 17, 1961.

Barrios suburbanos--Literally, "suburban neighborhoods"; but in common usage, as in the film, the slums where disadvantaged Ecuadoreans live in cane and mud dwellings in conditions of extreme poverty.

Civic Action (Acción Cívica)--A program involving work by local units on civil projects in education, agriculture, transportation, communications, sanitation, etc., which contribute to economic and social development. Such projects identify the military with progressive forces in a nation and enhance their standing with the civilian population while contributing to the national development effort.

Junta--A council, tribunal, or committee for legislative or governmental administration. In Latin American politics junta refers primarily to a group of military officers who head a government.

Sucre--The sucre is the monetary unit of Ecuador--about 18 to 19 sucres to the U.S. dollar.

OTHER AUDIOVISUAL MATERIALS

Filmstrip

The United States and the World (53 frames, color, silent). This first Department of State filmstrip is designed to introduce high school students to the substance and conduct of U.S. foreign policy. It analyzes the major problems facing the world today, and illustrates our national efforts to deal with them through our embassies overseas and our diplomatic, economic aid, military aid, information, and other foreign programs. It also illustrates some of the basic and far-reaching ways in which our foreign relations affect the everyday life of every citizen. A Teachers Guide with the narrative text is provided with each print.

Films and Tape Recordings

The Department of State has a Film Library which distributes a number of other films, and a Tape Recordings program which makes available "Foreign Policy Briefing Tapes" through State distribution centers. A Discussion Guide is available for most films and tapes.

SUGGESTED READING AND REFERENCES

Books

Barnes, William, and Morgan, John Heath. The Foreign Service of the United States (Government Printing Officer, Washington, 1961, $3.50).
In telling the story of the Foreign Service these State Department historians also sketch the course of our foreign relations. For both student and general reader.

Wanamaker, Temple. American Foreign Policy Today, How It Is Made, How It Works, The Crucial Problems It Faces in Tomorrow's World (Bantam, New York, 1964, $.75).
An up-to-date and concise examination of America's current foreign policy and its operation by a presently active Foreign Service officer with broad experience at the Department of State and at foreign posts. For both student and general reader.

Pamphlets

The Country Team: An Illustrated Profile of Our American Missions Abroad.
A comprehensive description of the work of American diplomatic and consular missions, including the activities of the Agency for International Development, the United States Information Agency, the Department of Defense, and other U.S. agencies operating overseas. Pub. 8193. Department and Foreign Service Series 136. 80 pp., illus. $1.00.

Commitment for Progress: The Americas Plan for a Decade of Urgency. Illustrated pamphlet on the meeting of the Chiefs of State of the OAS nations at Punta del Este, which includes the Declaration of the Presidents of America, statements made by President Johnson during the conference, and his Pan American Day proclamation. Pub. 8237. Inter-American Series 93. 40 pp., illus. 30¢.

HOW TO OBTAIN MATERIALS

Information about Department of State films and tape recordings, sample copies of the Department's publications, and replacement copies of this Discussion Guide may be obtained by teachers and discussion leaders from:

Distribution Control Division
Room 5819 (P/MS)
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Publications in group or classroom quantity can be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, at the prices indicated (25 percent discount for quantities of 100 or more sent to one address).

NAMES OF COURSES GIVEN AT THE FOREIGN SERVICE INSTITUTE
(1967)

SCHOOL OF ADMINISTRATIVE AND CONSULAR STUDIES

ORIENTATION

Departmental Orientation (Officer)
Departmental Orientation (Clerical)
General F.S. Orientation
General F.S. Orientation (Clerical)

SPECIAL STUDIES

Consular Operations
F.S. Local Employee Training Program

CORRESPONDENCE COURSES

Intro. to Immigration Law and Visa Regulations
Intro. to Nationality Law and Consular Procedures

ADMINISTRATION

Administrative Management Course
General Services Operations Course
Personnel Operations Course
Budget and Fiscal Course

SKILLS IN COMMUNICATING

Effective Writing
Public Speaking
Conference Leadership
Reading Improvement

CLERICAL IMPROVEMENT PROGRAMS

Shorthand
Typing
Business English

SCHOOL OF PROFESSIONAL STUDIES

ORIENTATION

Wives' Seminar
VETS Program

GENERAL CAREER TRAINING

Basic Officers' Course I
Basic Officers' Course II

MANAGEMENT

Executive Studies

SPECIAL STUDIES

Communism: Its Basis in Theory and Practice
Seminar of Communism
Intermediate Course - Internal Defense
Science, Technology, and Foreign Affairs
Economic Review Course
F.S. Economic Studies
Economics and Modern Diplomacy
These United States

COMMERCIAL STUDIES

International Trade Expansion Seminar
Review of Current Commercial Specialist Functions

LABOR STUDIES

International Labor Affairs
Labor Officer Training

ACADEMIC RELATIONS

Orientation for American Grantees

CENTER FOR AREA AND COUNTRY STUDIES

AREA STUDIES

Atlantic Community
Eastern Europe and U.S.S.R.
Near East and North Africa
Africa, Sub-Sahara
South Asia
Southeast Asia
East Asia
Latin America

COUNTRY STUDIES

Viet-Nam
Communist China

SCHOOL OF LANGUAGE STUDIES

INTENSIVE LANGUAGE TRAINING

* Courses established especially for the Defense Language Institute (DLI).

# Language specialization programs.

Amharic
Arabic, Eastern
Arabic, Iraqi*
Arabic, Eastern (at Beirut)
Bulgarian
Burmese
Cambodian*
Chinese
Chinese (at Taichung)
Czech
Finnish
French
French*
German
Greek
Hebrew
Hindi/Urdu
Hungarian
Indonesian
Italian
Japanese
Japanese (at Yokohama)
Korean
Lao
Persian
Polish
Portuguese
Portuguese*
Rumanian
Russian
Serbo-Croatian
Spanish
Spanish*
Swahili
Thai
Turkish
Vietnamese

EARLY MORNING LANGUAGE CLASSES
7:30 - 8:45 a.m.

French

EARLY MORNING LANGUAGE CLASSES (cont'd.)

German
Italian
Portuguese
Russian
Spanish

EXTENSION STUDIES

INTERAGENCY TRAINING

UNIVERSITY AFTER-HOURS STUDY

CORRESPONDENCE COURSES

University Courses
Naval War College Courses
  International Law
  Counterinsurgency
  International Relations
Defense Intelligence School
  Course
  Intelligence
USDA Graduate School Courses
  Plain Letter Writing
  Report Writing
  Technical Writing
  Modern Supervisory Practice
Army Signal School Courses for
  Communications Personnel

CONCEPT OF AREA AND COUNTRY PROGRAMS

1. Area and country programs are designed for U.S. officers who are scheduled to serve in a given area, or who are otherwise responsible for some aspect of U.S. operations in an area in which they have not served or have not had recent experience. The purpose is to enable such officers to acquire a broad understanding of those political, economic, military, social and cultural factors which should be taken into account in carrying out their professional responsibilities. This background knowledge is a common requirement for personnel of all agencies involved in foreign affairs. Participation and approach are therefore interdepartmental in nature.

   The programs are not designed to provide briefing or orientation with respect to the professional or technical responsibilities of the various agencies.

2. The programs consist of three-week courses, generally given monthly, covering all of the principal regions of the world. The countries are put into context, and the areas in turn are related to the changing world environment, partly by the presentation of a sequence of general analytical concepts or themes drawn from the behavioral and other sciences which have validity for most of the courses.

3. Country emphasis is provided by allocating time for guided individual study, utilizing a current library set up by area and country in support of each course. Country bibliographies and question syllabi assist in guiding student attention to salient features of the country of their assignment. Participants are expected to make liberal use of the resources of the library and to take books home for evening and week-end reading.

4. The programs draw substantially on non-governmental as well as governmental lecturers, selected for their recognized competence in their fields of specialization. The views of the lecturers do not necessarily reflect U.S. foreign policy or any official point-of-view. Independent critical thinking is encouraged in the analyses of problems which involve American interests.

5. The programs include analytical and bibliographical elements which the participants are encouraged to exploit in their own continuing analyses, seeking out the kinds of information in the field which make current events understandable.

6. The intensive nature of the programs makes it essential that students be assigned full time, in so far as possible, and be relieved during the period of study of such distractions as agency briefings, physical examinations and travel preparations. Other time should be provided for such necessary activities.

June 1966

Foreign Service Institute

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Lincoln High School Library, December, 1966

NUMBER	AUTHOR	TITLE	PUBLISHER	DATE
UNITED NATIONS				
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341.13 Ar	Arne, S.	United Nations Primer	Rinehart	1948
341.13 Be	Beckel, G.	Workshops for the World	Abelard-Schuman	1954
341.1 Br	Brackett, R.	Pathways to Peace	Denison	1965
341.1 Ch	Cheever, D.	Organizing for Peace	Houghton	1954
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134.1 Co	Cousins, N.	In Place of Folly	Harper	1961
341.13 Co	Coyle, D.	The U.N. and How It Works - Rev. Ed.	Columbia U.	1961
341.13 Ei	Eichelberger, C.	U.N.; the First Fifteen Years	Harper	1960
341.13 Fe	Fenichell, S.	U.N.; Design for Peace	Winston	1960
341.13 Ga	Galt, T.	How the United Nations Works	Crowell	1955
341.1 Ga	Galt, T.	Story of Peace and War	Crowell	1952
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341.1 Jo	Johnsen, J.	Federal World Government	Wilson	1948
341.1 Jo	Joyce, J.	World in the Making	Schuman	1953
341.13 Li	Lie, T.	In the Cause of Peace	Macmillan	1954
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ALSO:

Ref. 317.3 In	Information Please Almanac
Ref. 310.58 St	Statesman's Yearbook
Ref. 317.3 Wo	World Almanac
Ref. 320 Ye	The Yearbook of World Affairs

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Abraham Lincoln High School Library-December, 1966

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327.73 Ca	Campbell, John	American Policy Toward Communist Eastern Europe. U. of Minnesota, 1965.
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327.73 Do	Dodd, Thomas	Freedom and Foreign Policy. Bookmailer, 1962.
327.73 Do	Donovan, Frank	Mr. Monroe's Message. Dodd, 1963.
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327.73 Kl	Kleiman, Robert	Atlantic Crisis. Norton, 1964.
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327.73 Mo	Mowrer, Edgar	Good Time to be Alive. Duell, 1959.
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FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER INFORMATION SHEET

The Foreign Service serves the President by assisting in the planning and execution of the policies of the United States in its relations with other countries and international organizations. A Foreign Service Officer explains and interprets our actions abroad, reports on developments affecting the United States' interests and promotes and protects these interests by representation and negotiation.

Entry into the Foreign Service Officer Corps is through competitive examination for appointment to class FSO-8 or FSO-7. A candidate establishes his eligibility for appointment by successful completion of a five-step process:

1. Written examination
2. Oral examination
3. Medical examination
4. Background investigation
5. Final evaluation

Candidates with backgrounds in economics, administration, commerce or business can elect to be tested in one of these subjects as a part of their written examination. There are no formal educational or job experience requirements for entry into the Foreign Service, but it has been found that most of the successful candidates possess at least the equivalent of a bachelor's degree, and many hold advanced degrees.

To be eligible to take the written examination an applicant must have been an American citizen for at least 7½ years on the date of the examination. As of that date he or she must be at least 21 and under 31 years of age, except that a candidate 20 years of age may apply if he or she have successfully completed their junior year in college.

The written examination is usually given early in December and is jointly administered for the State Department and the U.S. Information Agency by the Board of Examiners for the Foreign Service. Applications may be obtained by writing to the Board of Examiners, U.S. Department of State, Washington. D.C. 20520. The closing date for applying is in late October--usually six weeks before the examination.

Foreign Service Officers are divided into classes from 8 to 1, plus the ranks of Career Minister and Career Ambassador. Salaries range from $6,300 to $27,000 per year. Promotions are made on the basis of recommendations of Selection Boards which periodically rate the performance of all officers.

In addition to salary, officers in the Foreign Service receive certain allowances intended to cover many of the extra expenses incurred while traveling and living abroad.

Further information can be obtained by writing the Board of Examiners or the College Relations Staff requesting "A Career in the Foreign Service of the United States."

COLLEGE PREPARATION FOR THE FOREIGN SERVICE

The Department of State seeks and accepts candidates with widely diversified backgrounds who have graduated from colleges and universities throughout the United States. It does not recommend particular schools or programs of study as uniquely valuable preparation for a Foreign Service career. Any of several majors ranging from anthropology to nuclear physics imparts information useful to the Foreign Service Officer in his varied assignments in Washington and abroad.

Scientific and technological matters, for example, play a larger role in foreign policy than in the past. However, a broad educational background with emphasis on the social sciences still remains an important base upon which the student can build his special skills.

More specifically a four-year study program should include courses in the following subjects: American history, government and culture; writing; public speaking; foreign languages and cultural patterns; statistics; economics; and administration. The amount of course work in any of these fields will vary according to the student's aptitude and ability. Since at least basic knowledge in these areas is essential, those majoring in other specialized fields of study may wish to consider these subjects for electives and outside reading or study programs.

Political Science, Government and International Relations continue to offer preparation related to many in economics, business or administration, however, are assured of interesting opportunities and assignments in the Foreign Service.

OPINION BALLET

Making Foreign Policy

Make up your own mind which U.S. policies you support, or what changes in policy you favor. On the ballot below, check all of those policies with which you are in agreement, Or add comments in your own words.

1. How might we best coordinate presidential and congressional powers in the foreign policy field to achieve the most effective results?

_____a. Maintain present balance of power between President and Congress.

_____b. Curb power of President to use U.S. armed forces in "undeclared" war unless Congress gives prior approval.

_____c. Curb power of President to substitute Executive agreements for treaties (which require senatorial approval).

_____d. Curb power of Congress to attach legislative restrictions to appropriations bills dealing with foreign policy matters.

_____e. Maintain tradition of bipartisanship in foreign affairs.

_____f. Abandon bipartisanship.

_____g. Other, or comment ______________________________________

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2. What measures might be taken to improve our foreign policy making machinery?

_____a. Form joint Senate and House committee to coordinate all testimony and discussion on foreign policy issues.

_____b. Create new post of supersecretary of foreign affairs to meet need for coordination and unification at the top.

_____c. Tighten liaison between Secretaries of State and Defense.

_____d. Maintain ambassadors at their posts for longer tours of duty than is current practice.

_____e. Establish tighter congressional control of intelligence agencies.

_____f. Other, or comment ____

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3. How can the public contribute most effectively to the foreign policy making process?

_____a. By seeking to become better informed on foreign affairs and expressing its views more actively.

_____b. By learning the foreign policy views of candidates for the House and Senate and giving these views more weight in deciding which candidates to support.

_____c. By leaving the management of foreign policy to the President and Congress on the ground that the public cannot have or acquire the knowledge required to express informed views.

_____d. By supporting the President, particularly in times of crisis.

_____e. Other, or comment ____

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THE FOREIGN SERVICE INSTITUTE: PATTERNS OF PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

by James N. Cortada and A. Guy Hope

In recent months the staff of the Foreign Service Institute, under its new Director, George V. Allen, has been examining critically the role and performance of the Institute in the professional preparation of American diplomats and other members of the Government's foreign affairs community. Consultants from the academic community and from within the Government are participating in extensive and intensive evaluation of FSI activities and directions.

The Institute's tasks are complicated by the fact that as a unit of the Department of State it has direct and absorbing responsibilities for Departmental and Foreign Service training problems. At the same time, the Foreign Service Act of 1946 contains a mandate for the Institute which extends beyond these responsibilities, extensive though they are, to the large and rapidly growing foreign affairs concerns of other Washington agencies.

While interesting and promising steps have been taken to accommodate the needs and interests of American foreign affairs personnel of many types, perhaps the best evidence of the Institute's increasingly mature and sophisticated outlook toward its mission relates to recent innovations in the formal training of Foreign Service officers.

To describe Foreign Service officer training as a difficult administrative task would be to indulge in understatement. The problem is compounded by the necessity of keying formal development plans, whether at the Institute or in universities, to the Department's assignment policies, to budgetary realities, and to availability of personnel. The last point is particularly important because in a highly competitive organization such as the Foreign Service, the only civilian agency of the Government with promotion-up or selection-out procedures, promising officers fear that their careers will be affected if they are removed from the policymaking mainstream. The fact that promotions in recent years tend to disprove the myth is insufficient to fully offset the reluctance of officers to leave fascinating "hot" jobs for prolonged periods of study.

Proposals to make general and broad training programs mandatory throughout the midcareer and senior officer levels are not realistic. The Foreign Service Officer Corps, totaling over 3,500 as of July 1, 1966, has remained relatively unchanged in size over the past few years despite the opening of many posts throughout the world. Pressing operational needs would mean that exemptions from extensive training would be sought on a wholesale basis for promising officers. Other officers with less cheerful career prospects would probably discharge the training quotas.

Furthermore, the heterogeneous backgrounds of Foreign Service officers in terms of functional specialization and levels of education complicate the training problem considerably.

In reassessing its training programs the Institute recognized the need to consider individual differences and to meet varying personal requirements for its student officers.

A further consideration was awareness that the Institute could most efficiently deal with the specialized application of academic disciplines to foreign affairs, leaving to the universities the task of solid education in the traditional disciplines. The Institute staff was mindful of the increasingly sophisticated academic training characterizing recent entrants into the Foreign Service Officer Corps, many of whom have received graduate degrees.

A third important consideration was the realization that the Foreign Service, in order to execute its tasks in the complex world of the 1960's, had to move more energetically toward high levels of professionalization. While the requirement was felt to fall on the Service itself, the effort clearly had far-reaching implications for the Institute's programs and philosophy.

TOWARD AN OVERALL TRAINING PHILOSOPHY

The first question to come under close scrutiny was the training of junior Foreign Service officers. It was patent that junior officer training had to respond to the basic training philosophy applicable to the Foreign Service as a whole. This linkage led the Institute, in close coordination with the Department's career development and placement officers, to examine the goals of formal training at various levels and the relationship of training to both experience and position requirements.

Some months earlier the Department's Office of Management Planning had reached tentative conclusions in a project which established all Department of State functions at four major levels of responsibility. The project developed within each group simplified title designations which corresponded to specializations. This project, known as Manpower Utilization System and Techniques (MUST), enabled the Institute and its colleagues in the Department to develop a training grid related to the groups established in MUST. Furthermore, since the MUST proposal tentatively built in as job requirements certain formal and practical training perquisites, the search for an overall training philosophy was simplified.

A training committee, chaired by the Director General of the Foreign Service and comprising, in addition to the Director of the Institute, geographic and functional bureau representation at the Deputy Assistant Secretary level, was established to examine the problem of training philosophies and programs. In this fashion a mechanism was created for total Departmental involvement in training questions.

The training committee concluded that Institute programs for Foreign Service officers, whether at junior, middle, or senior levels, should be concerned with the application of skills or disciplines to Foreign Service situations. With this view as a guiding principle, the Institute's junior officer training programs were pointed toward job-related preparation.

Some advisers from both outside and inside the Department of State had argued vigorously for a lengthy stay for junior officers in the Foreign Servie Institute, during which a wide range of university-type subjects and instruction would be given in fields normally dealt with in university graduate schools. This approach was consistent with concepts underlying the preparation of officers in the pre-World War II period. As Ambassador Allen once observed, in that era officers were considered to have accumulated in their university education knowledge which could be eked out as required over the years. In contract to this piecemeal concept, the Institute and the training committee eventually adopted the principle that because of the speed of changing events at home and abroad affecting the practice of modern diplomacy, it was preferable to return officers at regular intervals throughout their careers for up-to-date training either at the Institute or in the universities or military colleges.

MEETING SPECIFIC NEEDS OF JUNIOR OFFICERS

An examination by the Institute faculty of the kinds of responsibilities which junior officers would encounter following initial Institute training, during a 2-year on-the-job training period, pointed to certain specific needs. New officers, since they would serve during the 2-year probationary period in each of the four major sections of an embassy--economic, political, consular, and administrative--needed help in the early development of certain managerial and specific skills, awareness of important American foreign policy directions, examination of elements related to world tensions which have a bearing on political and economic reporting and other responsibilities, and at least minimal understanding of the Washington policy process.

The course developed as Part I for the new officers extends over an 8-week period which includes 2 weeks of preparation for consular responsibilities. Role playing, case studies, lectures, and individual research projects are among the techniques employed. Following the initial phase of the course, the junior officers receive 3 weeks of intensive training in area studies related to their first posts of assignment. Officers who do not speak the language of their first posts also receive an additional 16 to 24 weeks of language training. Intensive 6-hour-a-day courses enable officers to proceed to their posts with reasonable language competence.

Part II of the junior officer program has been developed to meet the needs of junior officers who return to the Department after their first service abroad, which normally consists of a 2-year training assignment and a 2-year assignment to a regular position. The training committee had particularly recommended job-related preparation for these officers prior to their Washington assignments, most of which are concerned with the first levels of policy coordination.

The new 4-week course, offered for the first time in the fall of 1966, comprises intensive training in executive development, a broad review of problems of international communism and other forms of extremist political movements, examination of outside pressures on the policy process, and intensive analysis of problems of interagency policy coordination. Case-study and role-playing techniques are introduced early in the course, and its final week culminates in simulations in which the students are given an opportunity to apply the principles which they have studied.

THE SEGMENTED MIDCAREER PROGRAM

After reorganization of the junior officer programs, the next step facing the Institute and the training committee was what to do about midcareer training. For nearly two decades training for Foreign Service officers was based on the principle that functional and area/language specialization corresponded to the midcareer phase and that for senior officers broad general exposure was indicated.

Translated in career terms, this meant that in theory an officer started in a generalist capacity and developed as a specialist; for those who survived the selection-out process, generalist responsibilities would be their lot in the top echelons of the Service. What has actually occurred is that many officers reached the senior grades as specialists and, although exposed to broadening in the military colleges or the Foreign Service Institute's Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy, nevertheless finished out their careers in specialist capacities or became ambassadors almost directly from their fields of specialization.

Crossing this pattern of development, there had been injected almost since the creation of the Foreign Service Institute the additional concept that specialization at midcareer level should be balanced by participation in a broad integrated program designed to round out specialists. The problem with this concept was that by the time most officers were for the midcareer course, they had already become specialists either through formal training or on-the-job experience. While they had acquired certain strengths, their intellectual equipment also reflected important gaps arising from the fact of their specialization. Since the integrated midcareer course presented a uniform curriculum regardless of individual differences of officers, a dysfunctional tone persisted in the midcareer training pattern.

In an effort to resolve this problem, the Institute "disintegrated" the midcareer program into eight basic segments. The segments were then refined into short high-impact courses. Promising officers were offered opportunities on an invitational basis to take those segments which balanced out their strengths and helped eliminate weaknesses.

For example, a midcareer officer with a strong background in political work and Communist problems but with a weak background in economics was invited to participate in the economic segment and in any other which he needed to complement his specialization. The eight segments, which could be taken separately, concerned Communist strategy; science, technology, and foreign affairs; executive studies; Americana; modern economic concepts; international labor affairs; problems of underdeveloped countries; and political science.

The revised segmented plan, after favorable recommendation of the training committee, was approved by the Deputy Under Secretary for Administration and became operative during 1966.

LANGUAGE AND AREA TRAINING

For many years, actually since long before World War II, special language and area preparation has been an established practice for selected officers according to their Service needs. For example, Ambassador Raymond A. Hare, who retired in November 1966 after some 40 years of service, had been an Arabic and Turkish student language officer in Paris in 1929. Others studied Chinese and Russian. Such distinguished diplomats as Ambassadors George Kennan and Charles Bohlen underwent similar training. In the post-World War II period, formal training in language and area specialization underwent a marked increase, particularly in the development of specialists for service in the Far East, Middle East, and more recently, Africa. Formal training for European and Latin American specialists, particularly the former, is a relatively recent development.

Originally the concept underlying area specialization was concentration on the language, with the area-study component on a somewhat hit-or-miss basis. Student officers in the earlier days were sent to universities for 1 or 2 years of language study; they took such area courses as were available and seemed appropriate.

In the early Institute days the need for language specialists became so great that a new pattern of assignment and training had to be found because the Service simply could not afford to have large numbers of officers out of circulation for long periods at universities. Thus, in its first 20 years, the Institute devoted about half of its resources to upgrading the language proficiency of foreign affairs personnel.

The Foreign Service Institute responded to the task by developing intensive language training capabilities in its own quarters for some 60 languages. For Japanese and Chinese language training, there are Institute schools in Yokohama and Taichung, respectively. For Arabic, there are Institute schools in Beirut and Tangier.

The Institute continued to depend on the universities for the area component of language-and-area specialization under close monitoring by the Institute's faculty. This formula is still followed, although serious consideration is being given to developing on an experimental basis one or two area specialization programs in the Institute. In the meantime, the Institute is also continuing a series of short interdisciplinary introductory area courses.

FUNCTIONAL SPECIALIZATION

The question of training for functional specialization in fields such as economics, pertroleum, labor, consular affairs, and administration was more difficult to resolve.

In the case of economics, for example, universities plan that undergraduate majors be taken over a 2- or 3-year period. Graduate schools presuppose a 2- or 3-year stay on campus. Again, the Foreign Service came up against the hard fact that it could not spare officers for the length of time required by the universities for a good grounding in economics. Furthermore, a manpower survey completed in 1965 showed that the Foreign Service needed over the years 1966-1970 approximately 200 officers with training in economics at least equal to an undergraduate major.

Acting on the advice of distinguished academicians, the Institute was encouraged to develop its own program and adapt it to particular Foreign Service needs. Accordingly, in January 1966 a 5½-month course was started for carefully selected officers having no background in economics, during which the equivalent of an undergraduate major in the subject was covered. To test the efficacy of the course, the Graduate Record examination in economics prepared by the Educational Testing Service at Princeton, N.J., normally taken by university seniors who aspire to enter graduate school, was administered to the first graduates of the Institute's economics course. They scored well above the national mean, thus demonstrating that functional specialized training tailored to meet Foreign Service requirements could be successfully given in a relatively short period.

After the initial experiment, the training of economic officers in the Institute is now an established practice. On the other hand, both the Institute and the personnel officers in the Department agreed on the advisability of continuing to send to the universities a small number of officers for preparation in economics at the master's or doctoral degree level.

A certain amount of formal training is given in the Institute in administration and consular affairs as specializations, but they may be refined further. While both the Institute and universities are used in the training of officers in the administrative and area fields and other specialties, present approaches to these problems are currently undergoing careful scrutiny to see whether formulas such as the one adopted in the case of economics should be followed. Probably in certain fields, such as petroleum and commercial specialization, a mix of inhouse training and temporary assignments to private companies may be the answer. In others, perhaps an Institute-university arrangement may be preferable. The problem of how to develop broad executive capability is one under constant review and experimentation.

A very difficult problem is whether selected officers engaged in political work should undergo intensive refresher courses in political science techniques and methods. The problem is not easy to resolve because of the considerable changes in the political science profession in recent years and the diversity of judgments among political scientists as to what kind of preparation is indicated for experienced political analysts, whether in or outside Government. It seems likely that the Institute will undertake some training in this field, but content, duration, and direction are still undecided.

It has been a longstanding practice to round out the formal training of officers who ultimately will occupy key positions by sending them to military colleges, universities, or the Institute's Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy. The theory behind these assignments is that at that point in his career, a senior officer should catch his breath and take a look at developments in the United States and their effect on the foreign policy issues confronting the Nation.

A new field being explored by the Foreign Service Institute and the United States Information Agency is the training of Government officers engaged in overseas informational and cultural activities. The task is not simple because, while there has been considerable advance with respect to communications in general in the universities, little attention has been given to the question of cross-national and crosscultural communications. This field is an important one for all people involved in overseas service, particularly in the new nations.

In summary, the trend in the Foreign Service Institute over the past 20 years has been in the direction of training programs contributing toward a greater professionalization of officers in the foreign affairs community. The Institute is now moving steadily in this direction not only by drawing on its own resources but also by seeking faculty assistance and advice from universities. Close to 400 academicians contribute to the Institute's activities through lectures, direct teaching, or consultations on curriculum and methodology.

It is the philosophy of the Institute that, regardless of how carefully developed training programs may be, they must complement, not substitute for, professional experience under competent and conscientious superiors. Only to the extent that supervisors in the Foreign Service, in the Department of State, and in related foreign affairs agencies are conscious of their responsibilities for personnel development can short- or long-term training succeed. Programs with a formal training content can only act as catalytic agents to assist officers who are motivated to improve their skills and understanding of the complex tasks of a modern foreign policy establishment. The developmental job is up to the people who are doing the work and to those who supervise their activities and careers.

__________Department of State Bulletin

WAR AND PEACE

Lincoln High School Library
November 1967

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327.73	Stanley, C. M.	Waging Peace. Macmillan, 1959.
901	Toynbee, Arnold	War and Civilization. Oxford, 1950.
323	Weinberg, Arthur	Instead of Violence. Grossman, 1963.

Also see Pamphlet File under subject headings Peace and War.

American Foreign Policy: CHALLENGES OF COEXISTENCE

Discussion Guide: *A 16mm Sound Film, 23 Minutes*

FILM OBJECTIVES

- To show how the danger of nuclear war and the changes in East-West leadership led to a new style of diplomacy--summit diplomacy.

- To examine the effects of destalinzation on Soviet foreign policy.

- To show how technical achievements in weaponry and space exploration raised the stakes in the nuclear power game and caused both sides to seek a detente.

- To illustrate the fact that national leaders must leave their opponents honorable and acceptable ways to disengage themselves in the highly explosive situations developing out of cold war strategy.

- To show how the success of the Marshall Plan and the containment policy in Europe created a new crisis growing out of Europe's new feeling of independence.

FILM HIGHLIGHTS

This film deals with major problems of foreign policy which the United States has faced since the death of Joseph Stalin. A brief thaw in the cold war, climaxed by Khrushchev's American tour and his meeting with President Eisenhower at Camp David, was followed by a dramatic series of confrontations between the United States and the Soviet Union--the U-2 incident in 1960, the Berlin crisis in 1961, the Cuban missile crisis in 1962.

A new style of diplomacy developed during this period. Meetings at the summit raised the hope that world leaders, meeting face to face, would find solutions to the problems that endangered world peace. Strangely, a relaxation of world tensions occurred, not after a summit meeting but after the Cuban missile crisis when the world's nuclear powers stood "eyeball to eyeball."

For a short time destalinization shook the Soviet Empire to its foundation, and the Hungarian Revolution weakened Soviet control over the satellite nations of Eastern Europe. Later the economic revival of Europe led to a loosening of the ties that had held both power blocs together.

If the threat of nuclear war has receded, the problems of a divided Europe remain. The Soviet Wall still divides Berlin, and war continues in Vietnam, keeping alive the danger of future confrontations with the Soviet Union in Europe.

SUGGESTIONS FOR USING THE FILM

BEFORE SHOWING

1. Pose the following questions to develop some historical perspective.

   a) When did Germany become a nation? Under what circumstances? Why was

Germany divided at the end of World War II? Recall various wartime conferences which determined this situation.

b) When did Cuba become an independent nation? What role did the United States play in aiding the Cubans to become independent? What was our diplomatic stand toward Cuba until 1933? When did Fidel Castro come to power and under what circumstances? What was the initial attitude of the United States toward Castro? Why did our attitude change?

c) What territories did the Soviet Union control in the Baltic Sea region before World War II? What territories did it also control in the Balkan regions at that time? Why should Russia feel a need to have influence in these regions? (Consider the traditional problem of Russia's need for a "window to the West.")

2. How do the following headline events pinpoint significant developments in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union?

1917 -- Russian Revolution
1920 -- United States withdraws from Russia
1933 -- United States recognizes the Soviet Union
1941 -- Wartime cooperation begins
1946 -- Iron Curtain closes around Eastern Europe
1950 -- Berlin airlift
1962 -- Cuban missile crisis
1962 -- Nuclear test ban treaty

(See *Suggested Reading*, Nos. 2, 7, 13, 15, 17.)

3. Have the class glean headline stories since 1953 that illustrate the effects of Stalin's death. The stories should be grouped under the following topic headings.

- The new posture of Soviet foreign policy

- The evolution of the diplomatic thaw during the later 1950's

- The concrete internation results of that thaw

AFTER SHOWING

1. Since World War II there have been many dramatic conflicts between the United States and the Soviet Union; yet this strained relationship dates back much further--to the establishment of the Soviet Union in 1917. Appoint a committee of students to review the history of United States - Soviet relations, considering especially the following points.

a) The role of the United States in the Russian civil war of 1917-1921. Whose side were we on, the Red or the White?

b) United States recognition of the Soviet Union. Why did the United States delay recognition until 1933?

c) United States-Soviet cooperation in World War II. What mutual interests did we have that demanded cooperation?

d) Post-World War II conflicts. What events heralded the cold war?

e) The effects of internal Soviet political changes on relations with the United States.

f) Areas of cooperation. In what area--ostensibly beyond politics--do the United States and the Soviet Union cooperate today? (Examples: cultural exchange programs, certain scientific projects.)

(See *Suggested Reading*, Nos. 7, 8, 12, 13, 15.)

2. Have the class research and report on the following issue: What is the essential strategy in the Soviet Union's use of peaceful coexistence? In the report the following areas should be treated.

- The Soviet Union's interpretation of "peaceful." (How does the Soviet Union justify involvement in wars of national liberation?)

- The Russian conviction that this policy will win the cold war, but without the costs involved in direct confrontations.

- The reasons for the Chinese Communist opposition to this strategy.

(See *Suggested Reading*, Nos. 12, 13, 15, 17.)

3. Many Americans have attacked peaceful coexistence as a Communist plot to catch this country off guard. Ask the class to examine this charge in open discussion, considering such questions as the following.

- Upon what is the charge based?

- Who are some of these critics?

- What motives seem to be involved in these charges?

- How valid are these charges?

4. Have the class prepare a list of news events illustrating the operation of the coexistence policy during the last few years (for example, the Camp David meeting, the test ban treaty). On the basis of this thumbnail history of the coexistence era, ask the class to consider the question: Who is winning the cold war under the current coexistence policy?

GUIDE TO CLASS DISCUSSION

Focus for Discussion: How has the new technology of the nuclear age affected the problems of coexistence?

Soviet Crisis Brings Cold War Thaw

The death of Stalin and the resulting "thaw" in Soviet foreign policy raised the possibility that a detente might occur between the East and the West. However, the Soviet Union would only go so far in relaxing its grip on Eastern Europe.

Questions	Ideas to Develop
1. How did Khrushchev's destalinization movement affect the satellite nations in Eastern Europe?	One of the immediate responses was reaction in Hungary. What started as a revolt turned into a rebellion and thence into a full-fledged revolution. Reaction, of a different nature than Hungary's, also broke out in Poland.
2. Was the Hungarian Revolution primarily an anti-Communist or an anti-Soviet reaction?	The revolt was a reaction of young Communists against control of their nation. Along with being anti-Soviet, the revolt also attacked the Stalinist regime for not living up to the ideals of a Communist society, such as, political freedom, and freedom of expression.
3. How have Soviet policies toward Eastern Europe changed since the Hungarian Revolution? What changes have there been in Soviet relations with the West?	After Hungary the Soviet presence in Eastern Europe became much less obvious. Although Soviet power in the satellite nations was no less real, most Russian soldiers and officials were withdrawn, and greater authority was given to local Communist leaders. The promising thaw in Soviet relations with the West failed to result in any real detente, as the U-2 incident and the Cuban missile crisis later revealed.

Concept Applications

- What did the death of Stalin mark the beginning of a period of thaw in Soviet foreign relations? Was it a change in goals as well as method?
- What were some of the positive results of the destalinization programs of Khrushchev? What were some of the negative results?
- What has been the nature of East-West relations since that time, particularly with regard to Eastern Europe? Is the Soviet hegemony over Eastern Europe likely to change in the future?

Evolution of a New Diplomacy

The danger of nuclear war and the changes of administration in the Soviet Union and the United States in 1953 led to a new style of diplomacy--summit diplomacy.

1. What was the purpose of the Geneva summit conference of July 1955?	This meeting gave the various leaders an opportunity to ease tensions about East-West relations. By meeting at the conference table they were able to discuss mutual problems and concerns.
2. How did Khrushchev's visit to the United States in the summer of 1959 lessen world tensions?	He came as a goodwill ambassador and toured the country in a sensational display of personal diplomacy. The American people looked upon him as flesh and blood, not just as a spokesman for a policy that was alien. By advocating personal diplomacy and by being the first Soviet leader ever to visit the United States, he set a precedent that was not soon to be forgotten.

Concept Applications

- What kind of diplomacy did summit diplomacy replace? Is summit diplomacy unprecedented?
- What alternatives are there to summit diplomacy in the nuclear age?
- Is there a difference between appeasement and compromise? Give historical examples of each during the period since 1945.

Technology Creates a Need for Coexistence

> *Technical achievements in weaponry and space exploration changed many of the strategic considerations on which foreign policy decisions are made, increasing stakes in the nuclear poker game and making both sides seek a detente.*

1. What was the significance of the Sputnik?	By virtue of the successful launching of the Sputnik, October 1957, both the Soviet Union and Khrushchev had a new weapon in the cold war. The rocket that fired a satellite into space could also fire a nuclear warhead. The age of rocket diplomacy began.
2. How did President Eisenhower justify the U-2 flights?	The President said: "Our deterrent must never be placed in jeopardy. The safety of the whole free-world demands this. As the Secretary of State pointed out in his recent statement, ever since the beginning of my administration, I have issued directives to gather, in every feasible way, the information required to protect the United States and the free world against surprise attack and to enable them to make effective preparations for defense."
3. During the presidential campaign of 1960 John Kennedy spoke of a "missile gap" and raised the question of the alleged loss of United States prestige. What was the missile gap? What elements of prestige were involved?	The missile gap referred to the difference that supposedly existed between the United States and the Soviet Union in nuclear capacity and powers of retaliation. By raising this issue Kennedy aroused concern that the United States was taking a back seat to the Soviet Union. He also contended that United States prestige had been seriously compromised by the U-2 incident.
4. Why did Khrushchev unilaterally break the three-year moratorium on nuclear testing?	The missile gap had closed and was now unfavorable to the Soviet Union. Khrushchev was publicly showing the world what the Soviet nuclear capacity was.
5. Why did Khrushchev feel a need for missile bases in Cuba?	It was, first, an immediate reaction to the unfavorable dominance in missile development that the United States had gained over Russia and, second, a counterpoise to United States nuclear power.
6. What was the relationship of the Cuban missile crisis to the ultimate signing of the test ban treaty of July 1963?	It was realized after standing upon the brink, as the two powers had done recently, that disarmament would reduce the possibility of duplicating such a situation. Therefore the

signing of the nuclear test ban treaty symbolized the new era of coexistence between East and West.

Concept Applications

- How has technology affected and altered the formation of foreign policy since 1945?
- In the face of a test ban treaty agredd to by the United States, the Soviet Union, and many other nations, Red China has launched a crash program of nuclear development. Why is China "going it alone"?
- Why are many smaller nations striving to become members of the "Nuclear Club"?
- What progress has been made lately toward international disarmament and arms control? What incentives are there for international agreements? What are the main obstacles?

Coexistence Allows Diplomatic Face-Saving

National leaders today have to leave their opponents honorable and acceptable ways to disengage themselves in dangerous diplomatic situations.

1. Why did Khrushchev react so violently to President Eisenhower's U-2 statement? How did the U-2 incident nullify the much-discussed "spirit of Camp David"?	President Eisenhower's actions, in assuming responsibility for a spy mission and stating that the U-2 flights would continue, were unprecedented for a head of state. According to the film's interpretation, Khrushchev felt he had been humiliated. He seized the opportunity to put the United States on the defensive, and wrecked the summit conference that was scheduled to take place in Paris.
2. How did the Berlin Wall provide and opportunity for both sides to back off from an imminent confrontation?	It physically reaffirmed the border that both sides had previously acknowledged in 1946. The wall did not threaten any of the vital interests of the West in general or of America in particular.
3. What were the alternative suggestions of the advisers to President Kennedy when the threat of the Russian missile pads was uncovered in Cuba?	These were the apparent options: he could do nothing; he could take the United States case to the United Nations; he could make direct secret approaches to Castro; he could blockade Cuba; he could launch an air strike against the missile sites; he could invade Cuba. But, said Theodore Sorensen, Special Assistant to the President, "The air strike or invasion automatically meant a military attack upon a Communist power and required, almost certainly, either a military response from the Soviet Union or an even more humiliating surrender, which would have cost them heavily in their prestige all over the world, particularly in the underdeveloped countries they were trying to build their relations with."
4. What was the basis for President Kennedy's final course of action?	"The blockade on the other hand had the advantage of giving Mr. Khrushchev a choice, an option so to speak. He did not have to have his ships

approach the blockade and be stopped and searched. He could turn them around. So that was the first obvious advantage it had. It left a way open to Mr. Khrushchev. In this age of nuclear weapons, that is very important."

Concept Applications

- What is the possible danger of a leader becoming too rigid in his stand on certain international incidents? What is the danger of being too flexible? (Consider such incidents as the U-2 flight, the Berlin Wall, the Cuban missile crisis.)
- What diplomatic situations today appear most dangerous? In such situations is United States policy flexible enough?

The Crack in the Atlantic Alliance

> *"United States power had contained the Soviet threat to Western Europe . . . But the success of United States policy, the containment of the Soviet Union, the restoration of Europe, was creating a new crisis growing out of Europe's new feeling of independence."*

1. Why did Charles de Gaulle feel that France needed an independent nuclear force?	De Gaulle felt that French and European interests did not always coincide with American interests. He justified his plan to build an independent nuclear force by asserting that the United States might not always be willing to risk nuclear war to defend Europe.
2. Why is the reunification of Germany considered such a basic problem of European stability? How did George Ball, Charles de Gaulle, and Gerhard Schroeder summarize their nations' positions on the future of Germany? What changes do they suggest with regard to the United States role in the Atlantic alliance?	BALL (United States): So long as the German people remain divided brutally as they are by a wall in the case of Berlin, there will be a serious element of instability in Europe because the drive of the German people to come together again within some kind of national framework is a very insistent one and a very normal one. DE GAULLE (France) suggested in a press conference that the Europeans, including the Soviet Union, might negotiate a reunification treaty among themselves. The United States, which was not a part of Europe, should be excluded from all negotiations on this issue. SCHROEDER (Germany): I cannot imagine that negotiations on the reunification of Germany could be conducted without the participation of the United States.

Concept Applications

- What is the relationship between a country's economy and its foreign policy? What other factors besides economics might be considered?
- How has the United States role in Europe changed in recent years? What is the significance of that change?

Summary Discussion Questions

- What made a policy of coexistence seem necessary as the age of rocket diplomacy began?
- Some people claim that politics is the art of compromise. How does this apply to today's international politics?
- Why should a war in Asia--Vietnam--afect a peaceful settlement of problems in Europe?

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2. Agar, Herbert. The Price of Power: America Since 1945, University of Chicago Press, 1963. Historical overview of 1945 to 1957, the period during which America faced the responsibilities of power, and the bewilderment resulting from that new role.

3. Almond, Gabriel, The American People and Foreign Policy, Praeger, 1960. Analyzes the relationship between foreign policy and public opinion, and considers the psychological impact of the cold war.

4. Bailey, Thomas A. A Diplomatic History of the American People, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1964. Introductory survey which stresses the role of public opinion on the shaping of American foreign policy.

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8. Graebner, Norman A. Cold War Diplomacy: American Foreign Policy, 1945-1960, Van Nostrand (Anvil paperback), 1962. Concise scholarly study including a collection of timely foreign relations documents.

9. Herter, Christian. Toward an Atlantic Community, Harper & Row, 1963. Explanation by a former secretary of state of the underlying needs for an Atlantic union.

10. Howard, Michael. Disengagement in Europe, Penguin Special S175, 1958. A British historian examines proposals put forward since the war for reunifying Germany and liberating Eastern Europe from Communist control.

11. Kissinger, Henry A. The Necessity for Choice: Prospects of American Foreign Policy, Doubleday (Anchor paperback), 1962. The director of the Defense Studies Program at Harvard thoroughly reviews current problems of American security and diplomacy.

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13. Lukacs, John. *A History of the Cold War,* Doubleday (Anchor paperback), 1962. Approaches the cold war through the national characteristics of the United States and the Soviet Union.

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POWER AND RESPONSIBILITY

by Joseph J. Sisco
Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs[1]

It is a delight to be in your wonderful city. New Orleans is synonymous with gracious living, with a broad outlook, and with a forward-looking spirit in our international relations.

The history of New Orleans prepared you for such a spirit. The Louisiana Purchase in 1803 was among the great acts of foresight in American history. President Jefferson--our first Secretary of State--sent Monroe and Livingston to purchase New Orleans for $7.5 million, and they came back with the whole vast Louisiana Territory for $12 million. What a bargain!

Even more important than the bargain was the boldness of Jefferson's act--his constitutional initiative in the face of his strong feelings about limiting federal power. It was a reach of imagination that saw the security and prosperity of America not just in terms of the generation of 1803 but in terms of generations of 1903 and 2003.

A similar breadth of vision and reach of inspiration must guide our foreign policy today, though I have no easy answers or quick solutions to offer you.

In Jefferson's day America was at the periphery of world power. Today we are the single most powerful nation on earth, and this power brings with it enormous responsibilities.

There are some who feel that we have been injudicious in the use of our power--that we have become involved in too many international disputes in world trouble spots. The fact is we don't go around looking for business as peacemakers. We approach international crises with an initial bias toward nonintervention. But if what is as stake is direct or indirect aggression against a country to which we are committed as an ally, or in an area directly affecting our own security, we cannot choose the easy road and stand aside.

The possession of great power coupled with a sense of responsibility makes for restraint rather than recklessness. Where it is necessary to use our power for purposes of peacemaking, we would rather do it in conjunction with others than to move alone. If we are to make progress in the laborious search for a better world order, we shall have to find ways to generalize still more broadly among other nations, old and new, both the sense of responsibility and the willingness to participate in the use of power, where necessary, for legitimate purposes under the U.N. Charter.

If Jefferson were here today, he would be astonished not only at the change in world power relationships but even more at the technological revolution which has taken place since his time. We all know how greatly science has intertwined our destiny with that of every continent. We are literally living in each other's backyards.

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[1] Address made before a regional foreign policy conference at New Orleans, La., on Nov. 12.

Let me give you an example. Communications satellites, which already link us with Europe, will soon link us with Asia. Before long, with the completion of the system of satellites and ground stations, the communications revolution will encompass Africa.

Presently, if a person in Nigeria wants to telephone someone in the Ivory Coast, he has to go through a radio circuit via London and Paris. With communications satellites, any African nation with a ground station will be able to make direct phone connections much more easily not only with fellow Africans but with people all over the globe.

In short, man's interdependence has reached into every corner of his daily existence. These changes have transformed diplomacy--in particular the diplomacy of peacemaking--from the relatively simple thing it was a century or even a score of years ago.

MANY INSTRUMENTS OF FOREIGN POLICY

In dealing with the tough day-to-day decisions of peacemaking in the post-World War II world, we have learned three lessons:

First, we cannot rely on a one-instrument policy. There is no single, all-purpose system of security that meets all our needs. There are no panaceas, no cure-alls, no magic wands. Many types of international instruments are called into play to cope with a Cuba missile crisis, with the Kennedy Round of new rules for international trade, with brushfire wars in the Congo and Cyprus, with aggression in Viet-Nam, with the economic and social needs of Asia and Africa.

We have direct nation-to-nation relationships with some 120 different states. We share our responsibilities with allies. We are connected with more than 40 nations in regional arrangements and alliances such as NATO in Europe, the OAS and the Alliance for Progress in the Western Hemisphere, and SEATO in Asia.

We participate in 50 international agencies and programs and take part in over 600 international conferences a year. Their work ranges over almost the entire spectrum of man's economic and technical activities.

At the apex of this structure, we join with more than 120 nations in the U.N. and its associated bodies.

Choosing the right instrument or instruments for a particular foreign policy requirement is important for its success. What is correct for one particular need may not prove effective for another.

VIET-NAM

Viet-Nam is a case in point. While U.N. machinery has already proved its worth in such diverse situations as Indonesia, Greece, Palestine, Kashmir, Korea, Suez, Lebanon, Laos, the Congo, West New Guinea, the Yemen, and Cyprus, it has not been able to deal effectively with Viet-Nam. It has not been able to take on either the peacekeeping or peacemaking job from the United States and its allies.

But that is not because we have not tried. We brought the issue before the Security Council,[2] but it got nowhere at all because of the threat of the Soviet veto and because of the attitude of some nations who are not members--North Viet-Nam and Red China.

Now, there are those who charge that our policy in Viet-Nam is an abandonment of charter principles and a confession of lack of faith in the U.N. This is simply a distorted notion of what the U.N. and the charter are all about. Our goal in Viet-Nam is that of the U.N. Charter, to safeguard the right of the peoples of Southeast Asia to settle their affairs peacefully and to select their form of government by principles of self-determination.

We are not trying to wipe out North Viet-Nam. We are not trying to change its government. We are not trying to establish permanent bases in South Viet-Nam. We are not trying to gain one inch of new territory.

And we are prepared to withdraw our forces from South Viet-Nam within 6 months of the time that the aggression, infiltration, and violence stop.

We could, of course, take the easy way out by abandoning our commitment and turning a blind eye to the aggression against South Viet-Nam. But this we cannot do without encouraging the forces of violence and aggression everywhere.

We want a peaceful solution--there can be no doubt of President Johnson's resolve in this regard. And we will continue to use not one instrument but *all* instruments of policy to bring it about.

ROOTS OF WAR

The second thing we have learned is not to rely on a one-sided approach, whether it be military, diplomatic, or economic.

Viet-Nam once again is a good illustration. Attention to problems of poverty and economic and social betterment are an integral part of security. That is why we have committed ourselves to a billion-dollar development program for Southeast Asia, why we back the Mekong Valley project and welcome the formation of the Asian Development Bank.

The seven nations meeting in Manila last month recognized the interaction of social, economic, and political forces. Their Declaration of Peace and Progress in Asia and the Pacific, signed by President Johnson and the leaders of six Pacific nations, said:[3]

> *In the region of Asia and the Pacific, where there is a rich heritage of the intrinsic worth and dignity of every man, we recognize the responsibility of every nation to join in an expanding offensive against poverty, illiteracy and disease. For these bind men to lives of hopelessness and depair; these are the roots of violence and war.*

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[2] For background, see BULLETIN of Feb. 14, 1966, p. 229.

[3] For text, see *ibid.*, Nov. 14, 1966, p. 734

ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC

The third and closely related lesson I want to mention is that we can no longer afford--if we every could--a one-ocean policy. Peace will escape us if we follow a double standard on aggression--if we strive to deter it across the Atlantic while tolerating it across the Pacific.

As Hawaii and Alaska have come into the Union--as we have acquired new responsibilities in the Western Pacific--the frontiers of our interest have moved to the West as well.

At the same time, our attention to Viet-Nam and the problems of the Pacific does not mean that we are turning away from Europe. Our allegiance to the fundamental concepts of the Atlantic alliance is as firm as ever. We know from the experience of two World Wars that our safety will continue to depend on a strong defense of Western Europe. We must continue to search for acceptable solutions to the problems of German reunification and of European security. Someday, I am convinced, we shall find such solutions, but only if we maintain our deterrent strength while we seek them.

Such solutions do not depend on us alone. It takes two sides to reach an agreement. Our own approach to basic international settlements is clear. It was well stated in the Manila declaration:

> *We do not threaten the sovereignty or territorial integrity of our neighbors, whatever their ideological alignment. We ask only that this be reciprocated. . . . We shall play our full part in creating an environment in which reconciliation becomes possible, for in the modern world men and nations have no choice but to learn to live together as brothers.*

The responsible use of power in today's world requires a serious effort to reach out for agreement and reconciliation with differing political and social systems. For this reason we continue to explore areas of common interest with the Soviet Union and other Eastern European states even while the conflict in Viet-Nam goes on.

Practical agreements need not be based on agreement on political values. It was in this spirit that President Johnson announced last month the lifting of certain barriers to trade with Eastern European countires and held out the hope of a reduction in tensions and military forces throughout Europe.[4] Agreement has recently been reached on starting regular Moscow-New York air flights.[5] The recent Polish-Czech offer to accept controls over their atomic facilities by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) if West Germany takes equivalent action could also open the way to improved East-West relations in other fields.

COMMUNIST CHINA

The same basic attitude guides our policy toward Communist China, despite Peking's continuing displays of extreme belligerence and xenophobia.

The United States has no hostile designs on mainland China, no desire to isolate it or to prevent useful contacts with the Chinese people. Our representatives have talked repeatedly with Chinese Communist diplomats in Geneva and Warsaw. We have relaxed barriers to travel by Americans to Communist China. We would also be prepared to deal with Communist China in certain forums where its interests are directly involved, such as a conference to resolve the Viet-Nam problem or discussions on disarmament.

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[4] For text of President Johnson's address at New York, N.Y., on Oct. 7, see *ibid.*, Oct. 24, 1966, p. 622.

[5] For background, see *ibid.*, Nov. 21, 1966, p. 791.

The problem here lies with the other side. We see no sign that the Chinese Communists reciprocate our desire for additional contacts. On the contrary, everything that has happened in Communist China in recent years leads us to the conclusion that Peking's policies are today more aggressive, more disruptive, more ruthless, and more arrogant than at any time in the past. The Chinese Communists are not isolated by others; they isolate themselves.

For these reasons, therefore, we remain opposed to excluding representatives of the Republic of China on Taiwan from the United Nations in order to put Chinese Communist representatives in their place.

We do not see how the U.N. could accept the incredible terms the Chinese Communists have put forward as a condition for their entry into the U.N. What they want to do is to turn history upside down: to have the United Nations condemn the United States as an aggressor in Korea; to have the United Nations exclude the Republic of China; and to have the United Nations transform itself into an organization entirely different from the one that exists today.

We are entitled to ask whether the Chinese Communists would be prepared to assume the obligations of the United Nations Charter as they stand, especially those designed to protect the territorial integrity and the political independence of others, and whether the Chinese Communists will persist in putting forward unacceptable conditions for their entry. Until these questions are satisfactorily answered, how can we believe that Peking has any real desire to participate in the United Nations work? All this is regrettable, because in principle the U.N. organization should be all-embracing if it is to be most effective.

NEW AFRICAN COUNTRIES

The issues of the African Continent have become another major area of controversy. We Americans know pitifully little about Africa. The fact that African issues have bubbled to the top of the U.N. agenda is symptomatic of the great changes that have come over the postwar world with the emergence of former colonies as independent nations.

There were 51 original signers of the United Nations Charter in 1945. Since then, 70 nations have been added, most of them newly independent countries of Africa and Asia, bringing the present total to 121. Seventy-five of the one hundred and twenty-one, some 60 percent, are Afro-Asian countries, and thirty-nine of the seventy-five are African.

These new nations feel understandably strongly about issues of colonial domination and race discrimination. Our own national history and traditions place us in natural sympathy with those seeking racial equality and self-determination. We share their abhorrence of *apartheid* and their opposition to societies in which one race is entrenched in aposition superior to another. As President Johnson told the African ambassadors on the anniversary of the Organization of African Unity last May:[6]

> *The United States has learned from lamentable personal experience that domination of one race by another leads to waste and injustice. Just as we are determined to remove the remnants of inequality from our own midst, we are also with you--heart and soul--as you try to do the same.*

Our African policy is determined by more than an ideological sympathy with racial equality and majority rule, however. It is dictated by hard national interest. It is important to us to maintain the course of peaceful change and economic development in black Africa and to protect the independence of the new nations.

The new governments of the African Continent are inexperienced and vulnerable. Developments on the continent can go in two directions: toward irresponsibility and extremism on the one hand or toward greater responsibility and independent development on the other.

We intend to do what we can to see that the latter course prevails. The best means for doing so is to encourage, through the U.N. and in other ways, the creation of sound national societies in Africa based on a concept of racial and regional cooperation. Any other course would point Africa toward anarchy and strife; would prevent economic and social progress; and would open up opportunities for Communist interference and penetration.

RACIAL OPPRESSION

The problem is not so much the ultimate objectives. These we share not only with the African and Asian countries but with virtually every member of the United Nations. The problem is rather one of implementation. How do we achieve these objectives over the stubborn resistance of recalcitrant authorities? How do we do so by working with the tools at the United Nations' command?

The U.N., let us remember, is not a super-state. It has scored great victories in damping down disputes with contending countries, but--the outstanding exception of Korea aside--it has not mobilized military force against an outlaw regime.

What is more, the crisis situations developing in southern Africa and now under consideration in the U.N. are unique in many ways. They are not the kinds of situations that were foreseen when the U.N. Charter was drafted.

The threats to the peace with which the U.N. at that time was expected to deal were acts of aggression. In Africa today the dangers are of a different character. They arise from racial oppression and from the overtones and remnants of colonial domination. There are no armies massed on or plunging across frontiers; no monster demonstrations of popular discontent; no signs of warfare or anarchy.

And yet the threat is undeniably there and must be dealt with in time before it engulfs us all. Pressures are building up inexorably in areas where race repression is sanctioned. If the U.N. stands passively by and these pressures are allowed to increase, race tensions could erupt into violence both inside and outside today's problem areas. It might then prove impossible to forestall such a downward drift into anarchy.

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[6] For text, see *ibid.*, June 13, 1966, p. 914.

This is a problem no nation can handle alone. Either the U.N. grapples with it or no one does so. We are now approaching the stage where we must face squarely the question of how far the U.N. should go--and how far we, as its strongest member, should go--to bring about the fulfillment of U.N. objectives in southern Africa.

Already some significant steps have been taken. To support the British in their opposition to the illegally constituted Smith regime in Rhodesia, the U.N. has called for voluntary sanctions against Rhodesia.[7] In a specific emergency last spring, the U.N. Security Council decided upon a blockade of crude-oil shipments by sea through the port of Beira in Portuguese Mozambique.[8]

While the voluntary sanctions have had some effect, they have not succeeded in bringing about the desired political change. We may soon have to decide whether the authority of the Security Council to impose mandatory economic embargoes should be invoked to put additional pressures on the present Rhodesian authorities.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

Somewhat similar questions will soon arise with respect to South West Africa. Last month the U.N. General Assembly decided that South Africa had in effect forfeited its old League of Nations mandate to administer that territory, largely because South Africa established its *apartheid* policy there and refused to be accountable to the U.N. for its administration.[9] The Assembly is now seeking means to induce the Government of South Africa to permit the establishment of an international administration designed to lead South West Africa toward self-determination.

This approach to a solution was accepted in the Assembly by the United States and 113 other members. Thus it had the support of almost the entire international community. The result is that we know what we want the U.N. to do, though we are not yet clear on how it can be done.

The Assembly wisely recognized that it was feeling its way in a new and difficult area. Its resolution provides that a committee should recommend *practical* means by which South West Africa should be administered for the desired ends. When that committee reports next spring, the time will have come for the U.N. to consider that more can be done to move toward a satisfactory outcome.

Obviously it will be exceedingly difficult to induce those in control of southern Africa to comply with U.N. resolutions pointed toward drastic political change. Some of the U.N.'s weapons, such as moral suasion and the power of world opinion, have already been employed to no avail. We shall, however, continue our efforts to bring reason to bear in order to bring about a peaceful and just solution.

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[7] For background, see *ibid.*, Dec. 6, 1965, p. 908.

[8] For background, see *ibid.*, May 2, 1966, p. 713.

[9] See *ibid.*, Dec. 5, 1966, p. 870.

The alternatives have their own dangers and are uncertain in their cost and effect. Voices will be heard calling for broad, mandatory economic sanctions, for the necessary steps to make these sanctions effective, and--from those of more far-reaching views--for the use of force. What the U.N. must determine--and what the United States, as a principal member, must determine--is the degree of sacrifice we are willing to contemplate, individually and collectively, and how--of crucial importance--effective that sacrifice would be.

We are moving into new and largely uncharted waters. The questions which are raised are vital for the future of Africa, for the future of the U.N., and perhaps ultimately for the future of every nation which may some day stake its existence on the rule of law in the world.

SHARING RESPONSIBILITIES

I leave you with one concluding thought.

Looking at the world from the vantage point of the United States--with our awesome responsibilities and the obligations of the greatest power in the world--we must be clear where our interests lie. They lie not in the direction of isolation and the withdrawal of our power, superficially attractive as this may be, but in widening the areas in which our responsibilities can be shared.

If we are to pursue our abiding national interest, we must take to heart what President Johnson said last summer:[10]

"The peace we seek...is a peace of conciliation between Communist states and their non-Communist neighbors, between rich nations and poor, between small nations and large, between men whose skins are brown and black and yellow and white, between Hindus and Moslems and Buddhists and Christians.

"It is a peace that can only be sustained through the durable bonds of peace: through international trade, through the free flow of people and ideas, through full participation by all nations in an international community under law, and through a common dedication to the great task of human progress and economic development."

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[10] For text of President Johnson's radio-TV address on July 12, see *ibid.*, Aug. 1, 1966. p. 158.

OPINION POLL

Please answer the questions below as honestly as you can. If you do not wish to answer any or all of the questions, leave them blank. Thank you for your cooperation.

Circle the one in each column that applies to you:

Class	Sex	Religion	Political Party Affiliation
sophomore		Roman Catholic	Democratic
	male	Protestant	Republican
junior		Jewish	Other
	female	other	None
senior		none	

All of these questions can be answered by circling the proper response in the right-hand column.

1. Should the United States supply birth control devices to underdeveloped countries which request them? Yes No Undecided

2. Should the United States refuse to give aid to underdeveloped countries which refuse to adopt population control programs? Yes No Undecided

3. Are there serious reasons why you might object to the use of birth control devices? Yes No Undecided

4. How many people in the world die each day from starvation? 10,000 1,000 100 Undecided

5. How do you feel about the problem of world hunger? a b c d
   - a-Haven't really thought about it
   - b-Feel confused
   - c-Conscience has prompted me to become involved or wish to become involved in activities against hunger
   - d-I am aware of the problem but it doesn't bother me

6. Should the United States supply aid only to those countries which make satisfactory effort at self-help? Yes No Undecided

7. Should the United States supply aid only to those underdeveloped countries which support our foreign policies?

8. Should the U.S. spend more money fighting a b c d
   - a-domestic poverty?
   - b-world poverty?
   - c-both?
   - d-neither

9. Should the U.S. withdraw all foreign aid from nations identifying with the Communists?	Yes No Undecided
10. Has the U.S. increased or decreased the amount it will spend on foreign aid for 1969-70?	Increased Decreased Undecided

IS FAMINE JUST AHEAD?

SPEAKING at Westminster College at Fulton, Mo., last week, C. P. Snow, distinguished British statesman and scientist, warned that a collision between soaring population and a limited food supply means local famine, beginning in a dozen years or less, perhaps followed by a sea of hunger.

Even the rich countries will be affected in Snow's view, unless the United States and the Soviet Union end their arms race and cooperate in helping the underdeveloped nations. But the poor countries also will have to revolutionize their food production and population growth will have to be reduced drastically throughout the world. Snow doesn't think these conditions will be met.

Yet as regards food, optimistic reports keep arriving from many places. The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations says food output in the undeveloped areas climbed nearly 6 per cent last year. New rice varieties and growing techniques promise surpluses for the Philippines and other Asian countries. New wheat varieties may make Pakistan, India and the Middle East self-sufficient in grain soon. The United States and other exporting countries continue setting new crop records.

Do these developments invalidate Snow's warning? Probably not. For even if the future can provide enough calories for every person alive, there's a quality to living which is threatened by human congestion. Snow said, "In many places, and for many purposes, including some of the fundamental human purposes, there are already too many people."

Present estimates double America's and the world's population by the year 2000. What will that mean to the problems of the cities? To education? To already overcrowded national parks?

Snow is right, surely, when he says that birth rates must drop if humanity is to be saved. Thus the Planned Parenthood Federation has urged President-elect Nixon to make supplementary federal appropriations for family planning a top priority item as soon as he takes office.

And not only the poor people and poor nations must curtail babies, Snow admonished. The sea of humanity could be even more dangerous than the sea of hunger.

"IS U.S. OVEREXTENDED?"

Viewpoints

TOUCHSTONE OF OUR POLICY

"We seek today, as we did in Washington's time, to protect the life of our nation, to preserve the liberty of our citizens, and to pursue the happiness of our people. This is the touchstone of our world policy. . . But we have learned in this century that our freedom depends upon the freedom of others, that our own protection requires that we help protect others.... You must know and realize that we will be involved in the world for the rest of our history." -- *President Lyndon B. Johnson*

ARROGANCE OF POWER

"America is the most fortunate of nations. . . . For the most part America has made good use of her blessings, especially in her internal life but also in her foreign relations. Having done so much and succeeded so well, America is now at that historical point at which a great nation is in danger of losing its perspective on what exactly is within the realm of its power and what is beyond it. Other great nations, reaching this critical juncture, have aspired to too much, and by overextension of effort have declined and then fallen.

"The causes of the malady are not entirely clear but its recurrence is one of the uniformities of history: power tends to confuse itself with virtue and a great nation is peculiarly susceptible to the idea that its power is a sign of God's favor, conferring upon it a special responsibility of other nations--to make them richer and happier and wiser, to remake them, that is, in its own shining image. . . . Gradually but unmistakably the U.S. is showing signs of that arrogance of power which has afflicted, weakened, and in some cases destroyed great nations in the past." -- *Sen. J. William Fulbright (D., Ark.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee*

THE TWO ILLUSIONS

"There is now some concern that we may be overreaching ourselves, that we are trying to do too much. This concern is not new. Nearly two decades ago, (British author) Dennis Brogan wrote of the myth of American omnipotence--the notion that anything we set our hand to would turn out our way. We all know this to have been illusion. . . .

"But there is the opposite illusion. This is to suggest that what happens abroad will not affect us, that by some marvelous historic chance we can live insulated from our world environment. In this view, we need not persist in our constructive contributions to affairs abroad; we can say we are tired, we have too much to do at home, we have tried and should withdraw. . . That, too, is dream and dangerous." -- *W. Howard Wriggins, staff member of the National Security Council*

TO BUILD A DECENT WORLD

"There are those who would undermine confidence in what we're all about. But if you want to know what our foreign policy is all about, look in your own homes and your own communities, your own hearts. We're trying to build a little peace in the world, where men can live alongside of each other without being constantly at each other's throats. . . . We should like to see tomorrow better than today for our families; we should like to see the ancient burdens of illiteracy and misery, poor health, relieved from the back of mankind. We should like to see free institutions in which there is no knock of the terrorist's hand on the door at midnight. In other words, we should like to have a chance to build upon the most elementary commitments of our nation and to lend a hand to those abroad who are trying to build a decent world of that type." -- *Secretary of State Dean Rusk*

THE U.S. OR THE U.N.?

"There have been, in the long course of history, many nations that regarded themselves. . . as world powers, but there has never been a nation that could, in fact, exercise power everywhere on the globe. . . . It is my feeling that we do not have the resources, material, intellectual or moral, to be at once an American power, a European power, and an Asian power.

"It is not our duty to keep the peace throughout the globe, to put down aggression wherever it starts up, to stop the advance of communism or other isms which we may not approve of. It is primarily the responsibility of the United Nations to keep the peace . . . and if that organization is not strong enough to do the job we should perhaps bend our major energies to giving her the necessary authority and the tools." -- *U.S. historian Henry Steele Commager, testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee*

A MATTER OF WILL

"The scope of our commitments is less a matter of our resources than of our will to make sacrifices. The technological means for being effective in distant places are at hand. It is less meaningful today than every before to argue, as some do, that we should not be interested in far away places.

"The most serious thing that could happen to this country is to lose the taste for large endeavors and to turn back upon itself to cultivate its garden. We are only too much inclined to do that anyway." -- *Yale University professor of economics Henry C. Wallich*

THE RANGE OF COMMITMENTS

"Our controversy today is not about whether we should retreat to the isolation from which we emerged in the '30's. It is over whether we should work our way back from the unplanned, emergency commitments of the postwar era. Those among us who want to hold on to all the positions we occupied are at odds with those of us who believe that the abnormal extension of our commitments cannot and should not be made permanent. There will have to be, we argue, a return to a more normal range of American commitment, and the sooner we accept this reality the better for all concerned." -- *political columnist Walter Lippmann*

THE TWIN CHALLENGE

"If we look 20 years ahead, we can see clearly a challenge to the survival of organized society in several parts of the world. When we look 20 years ahead in the developed parts of the world and particularly in the United States, where the scientific, technological, medical, and chemical revolutions are progressing most rapidly, we can increasingly see a challenge to the individual as a mysterious, autonomous human being.

"We cannot effectively respond to these twin challenges if we are at the same time preoccupied with ideological and doctrinal conflicts which no longer have much relevance to the fundamental concerns of our day. Given the traditional American quest for human freedom and today's U.S. global power, we have the opportunity and the responsibility to take the lead in responding to these twin challenges." -- *Columbia University Prof. Zbigniew Brzezinski, member of State Department Policy Planning Council*

TEST OF GREATNESS

"The task of our diplomacy in the period that lies ahead, like the task of our society, is not to remake the world in the American image . . . but to help achieve a period of stability in which a tolerable international order may be created in cooperation with others. . . .America's worth to the world will be measured not by solutions she seeks to impose on others, but by the degree to which she achieves her own ideals at home. This is a fitting measure, and an arduous test, of America's greatness." -- *author Ronald Steel in his book Pax Americana*

SENSE OF FRUSTRATION

"As the free-world alliances have weakened or broken apart, our role as world policeman has become all the lonelier. . . . The experience may be so distressing and discouraging that the United States will return to a new form of isolation. The cost in blood and treasure is so great, and the burdens so unfairly distributed, that the American people, in resentment over frustrations, may turn their backs on world responsibilities. That indeed would be a calamity for mankind of incalculable proportions." -- *Representative Paul Findley (R., Ill.)*

THE IMPLICATIONS OF CHANGE FOR UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY

by. Zbigniew Brzezinski

International politics is dominated by crises. The result is that we often mistake these crises for the reality of international politics. Going from crisis to crisis, we simply lose sight of the more basic and often more important changes that imperceptibly reshape the world in which we live.

It is useful, therefore, sometimes to pause and ask in a detached way: What is the nature of our era? What is really changing in international politics? By posing these questions we become better equipped to discuss the implications of historical trends for U.S. foreign policy. Definition of a broad framework of that kind in turn enables us to see in sharper relief our true interests and goals in specific regions of the world, such as Europe or Asia. Accordingly, in these remarks I would like to first turn to the problem of change in international politics and then discuss the implications of these changes for the U.S. posture in world affairs.

As I look at international politics, I see give major changes taking place, together fundamentally altering the nature of international relations in our day. The changes are not obvious, because they are slow; but their cumulative impact is most important.

WANING OF IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICTS

1. *The first involves the waning of ideological conflicts among the more developed nations of the world.*

Since the time of the French Revolution, conflicts between states have been profoundly emotionalized by mass struggles induced by a mixture of ideology and nationalism. Where that mixture was particularly intense, as in the case of nazism, the conflicts which resulted were particularly bloody and destructive. By and large, during the last 150 years or so relations among the more advanced states, particularly in Europe, have been poisoned by the emotionalizing impact of absolute doctrinal answers concerning most of the basic issues of humanity.

This condition is waning due to a variety of factors.

First of all, nuclear weapons have necessitated greater and greater restraint in relations among states. The realization of the enormous destructiveness of nuclear conflict has had a most sobering effect on statesmen. Hitherto one could calculate the cost and the potential advantages of war; today, this simply is no longer possible, and thus even the most bitter ideological hatreds have to be restrained by common sense.

Secondly, just as important, we are realizing more fully that social change is such an enormously complex and interrelated process, with so many variables, that it cannot be reduced to a few simple ideological formulas, as was the case in the early stages of industrialization. Ideological attitudes are thus giving way to a problem-solving, engineering approach to social change.

Thirdly, communism, the principal, and until recently the most militant, revolutionary ideology of our day, is dead--communism is dead as an ideology in the sense that it is no longer capable of mobilizing unified global support. On the contrary, it is increasingly fragmented by conflicts among constituent units and parties. This had contributed to ideological disillusionment among its members. Communist states, Communist movements, and Communist subversion are still very important on the international scene, but Communist ideology as a vital force is no longer with us.

Revolutionary movements in different parts of the world instead relate themselves more specifically to local radical traditions and try to exploit local opportunities. Thus, the common doctrine and its alleged universal validity are being diluted by specific adaptations. The process is destroying the universal appeal and global effectiveness of ideology.

All of that, cumulatively, prompts the waning of the ideological age in relations, particularly among the developed nations. The role of ideology is still quite important in relations among the less developed states, where problems are simpler, where issues can be translated into black-and-white propositions, and where absolute doctrinal categories still appear superficially relevant.

SHIFT IN FOCUS OF VIOLENCE

2. *Closely connected with the waning ideological conflicts among the more developed nations of the world is the decline of violence among these states.* During approximately the last 150 years, the international scene has been dominated by conflicts fought principally among the more advanced and largely European nations of the world. The focus of violence today is shifting to the third world. Increasingly, conflicts are either between some of the developed nations and the less developed nations; or increasingly, instability in the underdeveloped world is itself the source of global tensions. It is thus a basic reversal of the dominant pattern of the recent past.

The new restraint on violence displayed by the more advanced states in relations among one another is also largely due to the nuclear age. It should be acknowledged that without the presence of nuclear weapons a major war probably would have erupted in the course of the last 20 years. Given the range of conflicts, the frequent tensions, and the occasional clashes between the United States and the Soviet Union, in almost any other era in history a war between them probably would have ensued. The presence of nuclear weapons has introduced an overriding factor of restraint into relations among the more advanced states and has helped to preserve world peace.

This restraint is still largely absent insofar as relations among the less developed states are concerned. Moreover, the ideological passions and the nationalist tensions have not yet run their full course; and consequently the propensity toward total reactions, total commitment, and total violence is still quite high.

Without discussing the pros and cons of the Vietnamese war, it offers a good example of the generalization made above. It reflects the shift of focus in global affairs from conflicts between the developed states to a conflict that involves a wealthy and highly advanced country in an effort to create regional stability. The unwillingness of the Soviet Union to become totally involved in the conflict stems from the greater realization of its own interest in preserving peace in the nuclear age and also from the gradual waning of its ideology, which weakens its sense of total identification with every revolutionary movement in the world.

TREND TOWARD POSTNATIONALISM

3. *The third generaliztion is the proposition that we are witnessing the end of the supremacy of the nation-state on the international scene.* This process is far from consummated, but nonetheless the trend seems to me to be irreversible. It is not only a matter of security interdependence among allied states. It is also a matter of psychological change. People through history have expanded their sense of identification. At first, men identified themselves with their families, then with their villages, then with their towns, then with their regions and provinces, then with their nations. Now increasingly people are beginning to identify with their continents and regions. This change has been induced by the necessities of economic development and of the technological revolution, by changes in the means of communication--all of which cause people to identify themselves more and more with wider, more global human interests.

GLOBAL POWER OF THE UNITED STATES

4. *The fourth major change which has taken place in our times is the emergence of the United States as the preponderant world power.* The conventional view is that since 1945 we have seen three basic stages of international development: First of all, U.S. nuclear monopoly; secondly, bipolarity, based on two homogeneous alliances rigidly confronting each other; and now increasingly polycentrism, with many states playing the international game.

I submit that this is a wrong perspective; in fact, the sequence has been the opposite. The first postwar era--1945-50--was essentially a polycentric era. The United States was largely disarmed. It had a nuclear monopoly, to be sure, but its nuclear power was essentially apocalyptic; it was not applicable--it was only usable in circumstances which everyone wished to avoid--hence it was not politically relevant. The United States was disarmed, it was only beginning to be involved in Europe, hardly involved in Asia--and there were still two major empires on the scene, the French and the British. The Russians were asserting their regional control over Central Europe, but they were not yet involved in Asia. Asia itself was in turmoil. This truly was the polycentric era.

It gave way to the era of bipolarity, of dichotomic confrontation, if you will, between two alliances--one led by the Soviet Union, one led by the United States. The Soviet Union during this time acquired nuclear capacity, and under Khrushchev it midjudged its nuclear power and attempted to pursue between 1958 and 1962 a policy designed to assert Soviet global supremacy. These years were dominated by the Soviet effort to throw the West out of Berlin, to put missiles in Cuba and to force a showdown. However, Khrushchev discovered in 1962 that the Soviet Union still had only apocalyptic power. Its nuclear power was not relevant when faced with U.S. power, which by then had become much more complex and much more usable in a far greater diversity of situations.

Thus in the last few years the United States successfully stared Khrushchev down in Cuba, it protected its interests in the Dominican Republic and in the Congo--and today it is doing it in Viet-Nam. Yet the Soviet Union did not dare to react even in the area of its regional domination: Berlin. Today, the Soviet Union is in effect a regional power, concentrating primarily on Europe and on the growign danger from China. Our power during this ensuing period has become applicable power, with a long-range delivery system, with the means of asserting itself on the basis of a global reach.

Moreover, recent years--and this is much more important--have witnessed continued economic growth in this country; they have seen the expansion and appearance on the world scene of U.S. technological know-how. Increasingly, the U.S. way of life, our styles, our patterns of living, are setting the example. Today, if there is a creative society in the world, it is the United States--in the sense that everyone, very frequently without knowing it, is imitating it. However, paradoxically because the United States is the only global power, it finds it increasingly difficult to concentrate its resources or its policy on any specific region of the world. This often creates sharp dilemmas and difficulties, difficulties with which we will have to live because our involvement is also a major factor of stability in the world.

THE GROWING FRAGMENTATION OF THE WORLD

5. *The fifth major change involves the growing fragmentation of the world, not only between the developed states and the underdeveloped--which is, of course, much talked about--but the increasing fragmentation of the developed world.* I have particularly in mind the growing difference between the United States and the rest of the advanced world. The United States is becoming a new society, a society no longer shaped by the impact of the industrial process on social, economic, and political life. That impact still shapes European life; if you look at the changes in the nature of the European political elite, if you look at problems of employment or unemployment or welfare, if you look at efforts to create greater access to education in Europe--all of these are manifestations of the impact of the industrial process on a formerly rural and traditional society.

The United States is no longer in this kind of historical era. Increasingly, our social dilemmas are of leisure, well-being, automation, psychic well-being, alienation of the youth (usually from well-to-do middle-class families). All of that is connected with a standard of living which has become relatively stable and high, connected with a society which is well-to-do but in many respects has new dilemmas of purpose and meaning. We are becoming, in effect, a post-industrial society, in which computers and communications are shaping more and more our way of life. Our education and our image of the world are shaped more by television and less and less by sequential, logical media such as books and newspapers. If the Europeans are today experiencing the automobile revolution--which extends physical mobility--Americans are undergoing an electronic revolution, which extends our senses and nervous systems.

All of this induces new perspectives and new attitudes and sharpens the difference between us and the rest of the developed world. It also creates underlying tension, in addition to the obvious problems of foreign policy, such as the Kennedy Round, the problem of NATO, the problem of East-West relations, and so forth.

U.S. FOREIGN POLICY IN A TIME OF CHANGE

If there is any merit in this highly generalized analysis of the nature of change in our time, what are its implications for U.S. foreign policy?

First of all, we should not become ideological latecomers. We have traditionally been the pragmatic society, free of ideological shackles. It would be unfortunate if now we succumbed to internal and external ideologization, either because of belated anti-Communist rigidity at a time when the Communist world is becoming fragmented or because of radical reactions to internal dilemmas, the new dilemmas of our society that I spoke about. It would be unfortunate if these new dilemmas, inherent in the United States' becoming a new type of society, were responded to on the basis of essentially irrelevant, outmoded, 19th-century ideological formulations. Yes, this is the great danger, particularly with the New Left, which is looking for ideological guidance and only too often turns to outmoded anarchistic, Trotskyite, or nihilistic doctrines, doctrines completely irrelevant to the new dilemmas of our society.

Secondly, in our foreign policy we ought to avoid the prescriptions of the extreme right or the extreme left. The right only too often says, erroneously, that to protect a better America we ought to stay out of the world. The New Left says that to build a better America we have to stay out of the world. Both are wrong, because today our global involvement and our preponderance of power is such that our disinvolvement would create international chaos of enormous proportions. Our involvement is an historical fact--there is no way of ending it. One can debate about the forms it ought to take, about its scope and the way it is applied, but one cannot any longer debate in absolutist terms should we or should we not be involved.

Thirdly, we should not underestimate, because of our own historical formation, the role of revolutionary nationalism in the world. While we have to pursue the task of building a world of cooperative communities, we have to realize that revolutionary nationalism is a stage of development which in many cases cannot be avoided. We should therefore be very careful not to get overinvolved in conflicts, with the result that we are pitched against revolutionary nationalisms, making us appear as impediments to social change.

This raises the extremely complicated issue of intervention. Under what conditions should we or should we not intervene? It is extraordinarily difficult to define clear-cut criteria; but as a broad generalization, it might be said that intervention is justified whenever its absence will create regional instability of expanding proportions. It has to be judged largely on its international merits and not in terms of specific domestic consequences within individual states. It is that distinction which justifies intervention--it is that distinction which warrants our involvement today in the effort to create regional stability in Southeast Asia.

Fourthly, in seeking ties with the developed nations of the world, particularly with Western Europe, we have to emphasize in addition to specific political and security arrangements, increasingly efforts addressed to the fundamental social dilemmas which are inherent in the widening gap between the United States and Western Europe. We ought to try to share and distribute our new knowledge and technological skills, because this is the unique asset of the postindustrial society. At the same time we should try to make the industrial societies more aware of the novel character of our problems. By learning from us they can perhaps avoid some of our difficulties. We have to forge new social bonds, especially between our younger generation and the younger Europeans--and urgently so, for we are at a time in history when the two continents find themselves in different historical eras.

Finally, to apply these remarks cumulatively and briefly to Europe: Since the ideological age is waning, since the developed world is increasingly becoming the zone of tranquillity, since the United States is playing a predominant role in the world, and since we are in a new historical era which gives us special assets, it is our task to develop a broader approach for Europe, the purpose of which, as the President said on October 7th, is to end gradually through reconciliation the cold war, a remnant of the civil war that has divided the most advanced parts of the world for the last 150 years.

Thus we need to adapt the Atlantic concept to the post-cold-war era. We should strive increasingly to shape a community of the developed nations which will contain four basic components: The United States; a more homogeneous and integrated Western Europe in close ties with the United States but also in increasingly close linkage with Eastern Europe; an Eastern Europe which will gradually begin to stand on its own feet and engage in subregional integration more independently of the Soviet Union while in turn retaining its ties with the Soviet Union; a Soviet Union which would also be drawn into constructive relationships with Western Europe and the United States.

Only by developing such a community of the developed nations, of which Japan should naturally be a member, can we try to assure a measure of order to a world which otherwise will be increasingly dominated by chaos.

If we look 20 years ahead, we can see clearly a challenge to the survival of organized society in several parts of the world. When we look 20 years ahead in the developed parts of the world and particularly in the United States, where the scientific, technological, medical, and chemical revolutions are progressing most rapidly, we can increasingly see a challenge to the individual as a mysterious, autonomous human being.

We cannot effectively respond to these twin challenges if we are at the same time preoccupied with ideological and doctrinal conflicts which no longer have much relevance to the fundamental concerns of our day. Given the traditional American quest for human freedom and today's U.S. global power, we have the opportunity and the responsibility to take the lead in responding to these twin challenges.

HOW NATIONS SEE EACH OTHER

Are the hates and suspicions between nations anything like those between individuals and groups? Yes, says this eminent psychiatrist, and they may be treated in similar ways as well.

by Jerome D. Frank, M.D.

No psychiatrist or psychologist would be so rash as to claim that one can make solid or positive inferences about the behavior of nations from that of individuals. Obviously a host of new and important factors come into play in passing from the individual to the national level. National policies, however, are made by decision-makers acting individually or as members of committees, so that insights gained by observation of persons in private and group interviews may not be without relevance. In fact, it is startling how often similarities between the behavior of nations and individuals seem to emerge when one starts to look for them.

It should be made explicit that my observations will deal only with the motives and behavior of normal people. As in the rest of medicine, one learns about health through studying illness. Persons with problems reveal processes that operate in everyone but are often obscured in persons who are functioning well.

STUDY HUMAN NATURE

For the first time in history all nations are faced with the possibility of sudden annihilation. This forces them to re-examine traditional ways of conducting their affairs and to devise the new ways of dealing with each other more appropriate to the conditions of life today. Such an undertaking requires examination of the greatest possible range of information and ideas from all fields of knowledge that might possibly have something to offer. I believe that the study of human nature is such a field.

The role of psychological factors in international conflict has not gone unnoticed by national leaders. For example, General Douglas MacArthur, addressing the American Legion in 1955 said: "The present tensions with their threat of national annihilation are kept alive by two great illusions. The one, a complete belief on the part of the Soviet world that the capitalist countries are preparing to attack it; that sooner or later we intend to strike. And the other, a complete belief on the part of the capitalist countries that the Soviets are preparing to attack us; that sooner or later they intend to strike.

"Both are wrong. Each side, so far as the masses are concerned, is equally desirous of peace. For either side, war with the other would mean nothing but disaster. Both equally dread it. But the constant acceleration of preparation may well, without specific intent, ultimately produce a spontaneous combustion."[1]

General MacArthur calls attention to an important psychological principle that appears highly relevant to international affairs--namely, that a person's beliefs and expectations largely determine how he thinks and behaves. Since members of the same society tend to share the same beliefs, this principle becomes important in understanding how nations see and behave toward each other.

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[1] MacArthur, D., Can We Outlaw War? *Reader's Digest*, May, 1955.

In order to survive, every person has to organize the flood of experiences pouring in on him to enable him to predict what the effects of his behavior will be upon both things and other people. This organizing process starts as soon as he is born, and is guided by his experiences with his family and other people in his society. The expectations thus created filter and arrange incoming information.

We are not aware that our expectations are constantly shaping our picture of the world because the process goes on outside of consciousness. To take a simple example, a psychologist had Mexican and American shool-teachers look into a device that showed a different picture to each eye at the same time. A picture of a baseball player was presented to one eye and a picture of a bullfighter to the other. An overwhelming proportion of the Mexicans "saw" the bullfighter; an overwhelming proportion of the Americans saw the baseball player. What they saw was largely determined by whether they were Mexicans or Americans.[2]

A person's group membership also influences what he hears and remembers. Back in 1941 some Republicans and Democrats were asked to listen to a speech containing equal numbers of statements for and against the New Deal. A little while later they were asked what it contained. The Republicans said it was a speech denouncing the New Deal and remembered quotations supporting their position. The Democrats said it favored the New Deal and recalled quotations supporting this view.[3]

The pictures of the world formed by the expectations of members of every society and nation resemble each other in many ways but differ in others--and each believes its own to be true, just as true as that the sun will rise tomorrow.

When nations are in conflict, the images of each other that they form regularly take on the same features. Each adversary sees itself as peacefully inclined and the other as aggressive. Sometimes each regards the citizens of the other as friendly but misled by their leaders. Today American and Chinese statemen each assert that the Chinese and American peoples are well-disposed toward each other; it is only the leaders on the other side who are responsible for the conflict.

Contributing to the formation of this "mirror image" of the enemy [4,5] is a psychological process termed psy-cho-logic--the continual effort to make one's world-view emotionally consistent even if it is not logically consistent.[6] Thus, once nations find themselves in a position of mutual antagonism, each interprets all actions of the other as based on bad motives, just as its own acts always spring from good ones. This has several unfortunate consequences.

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2. Cantril, H., Perception and Interpersonal Relations, *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 1957, 114, 119-126.

3. Edwards, A. L., Political Frames of Reference as a Factor Influencing Recognition, *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1941, 36, 35-40.

4. Bronfenbrenner, U., Allowing for Soviet Perceptions, in R. Fisher (ed.) *International Conflict and Behavioral Science*, New York: Basic Books,Inc., 1964, pp. 161-178.

5. White, R. K., Images in the Context of International Conflict: Soviet Perception of the U.S. and U.S.S.R., in H. Kelman (ed.) *International Behavior*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965, pp. 236-276.

6. Osgood, C. E., *An Alternative to War or Surrender*, Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1962.

The view that another nation's acts always have hostile motives may create a self-fulfilling prophecy.[7] This term refers to the fact that sometimes a person's expectations cause him to do things that make his expectations come true. A striking domestic example occurred in 1929 at the start of the depression. Many depositors in solvent banks expected them to fail. They therefore hastened to withdraw their deposits, thereby bringing about the very bank failures they feared.

The classic example of the self-fulfilling prophecy in international relations is an arms race. Each side anticipates an attack by the other. In response to this expectation, each arms itself, convincing the other that its fears are justified, leading to another round of arms increases.

When nations are heavily armed and mutually fearful, this kind of conflict spiral can lead to war with breath-taking speed, as occurred immediately preceding the outbreak of the first world war. Detailed analysis of thousands of state papers produced in the weeks following the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand at Sarajevo has revealed that the leaders of each of the great powers saw themselves as offering friendship but receiving hostility. That is, each selectively emphasized the other's hostile gestures and discounted his friendly ones. These nutual distortions led to reciprocal acts that in a few weeks culminated in a general war from which Europe never recovered.[8]

THE DOUBLE STANDARD

Once nations are actually fighting, similar acts are viewed as evil when committed by the enemy and morally neutral when performed by us. An unpleasant example of this double standard of morality is the concept of atrocities. All modern wars involve the killing of noncombatants. In the course of time certain traditional forms of killing gradually come to be recognized as legitimate. Other forms, that sooner or later appear in any war, are regarded as legitimate or unavoidable by the side that resorts to them, and as atrocious by the other. Each side then uses the atrocities committed by the other to confirm its harsh view of the enemy and justify its own acts. Thus, in World War I the German General von Hausen saw nothing wrong in shooting down Belgian civilian hostages because the Belgian government "approved perfidious street fighting, contrary to international law."[9] In Viet-nam, each side is outraged by the "atrocities" of which each accuses the other. We dwell on the assassinations and tortures committed by the Viet Cong. Communist leaders castigate Americans for using "the most cruel and barbaric means of annihilating people,"[10] by which they mean new anti-personnel weapons, chemical destruction of crops, and napalm, made possible by our more advanced technology. As we see it, we resort to these measures reluctantly and only out of necessity. In this way, we preserve our own self-image as a humane, compassionate people.

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[7] Merton, R. K., *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957.

[8] Holsti, O. R. and North, R. C., the History of Human Conflict, in E. B. McNeil (ed.) *The Nature of Human Conflict*, Engelwood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965, pp. 91-115.

[9] Quoted in Tuchman, B., *The Guns of August*, New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1964, p. 353.

[10] Malinowsky, R. V., *New York Times*, Monday, May 2, 1966, p. 1, col. 4.

Unfortunately, actions are judged by their effects, not their intent, so the rest of the world is not so charitable. Knowing our intentions to be honorable, and assuming that others know it too, it is hard for us to believe that many people in the world see our acts as aggressive. Their critical reactions create in us a feeling of injured innocence, and this, in turn, strengthens our feeling that these acts are necessary means toward a justified goal.

The image of the enemy as evil, finally, acts to block acceptance of his genuine conciliatory moves. Since he is, by definition, implacably hostile, an apparently friendly gesture tends to be seen either as evidence of his weakening, or as an effort to create dissension within our ranks. The usual response to such a move, therefore, is angry rejection coupled with reassertion of one's undiminished determination to continue the fight. A recent example was Peking's rejecting as "frauds" American offers to let our scientists and scholars visit China and Chinese ones visit the United States and Senator Mansfield's proposal for an Asian conference.

Psychological dynamisms like the mirror image of the enemy, the double standard of morality and the self-fulfilling prophecy operate in all nations at war and impede efforts to restore peace. The Vietnam War has an additional tension-producing feature--a strong ideological component. To understand what this implies it is necessary to consider briefly the psychological functions of ideologies.

A psychologically crucial part of the reality world of any group is its beliefs about the meaning of existence. Every person has to shield himself somehow from the unendurable realization that his individual life is a very fleeting and insignificant event in an indifferent universe. He does this by embracing an ideology or religion that links his life to some larger, more enduring purpose. For many this is an abstraction like God or Democracy or Communism. A shared ideology is vital not only to the individual but to his group as well, since the common philosophy of life binds the members together. Therefore, for many persons, surrendering the belief that gives meaning to their lives and links them to their group would be intolerable--it would represent a kind of psychological death harder to contemplate than biological death.

The existence of a group that holds an ideology differing from our own creates anxiety. Why? Because the very fact that they maintain different beliefs implies that ours might be wrong. The sense of mutual threat is intensified if each of the rival ideologies requires its adherents to convert or destroy believers in the other. In the past this has been true of Islam and Christianity, of Catholicism and Protestantism. It used to be true of Communism and Free Enterprise, and probably still is in the mids of old-line Chinese Communists.

Humans, like all living creatures, are incited to violence by threats to their survival. We differ from all other creatures primarily in our power to symbolize, so that we respond with violence not only to actual provocations like directs threats to life or property, but to psychological ones like threats to our ideology or self-esteem.

In the Vietnam War, for both sides psychological issues have become very important. From a strictly materialistic standpoint, the territory of Vietnam is of limited strategic importance to us, and the North Vietnamese would be much better off economically if they peacefully acquiesced to American presence in the South. Not only would the progressive destruction of their hard-won industrial plants cease, but the United States would probably pour millions into rebuilding them. But we see behind the struggle over territory such psychological issues as whether our will or that of China is stronger, whether other nations can trust our commitments, and above all, whose view of the world will eventually prevail.

Judging from their statements, our adversaries see themselves as fighting against neo-imperialism--a concept loaded with psychological overtones--and also, for some, to further the ideology of Communism. Each, moreover, sees itself as fighting for "freedom," but the word has an entirely different meaning for each side.

Thus, the Vietnam War has assumed an ideological character similar to the holy wars of former times, and this has ominous implications. People who are fighting for their ideals seldom if ever can be forced into surrendering by punishment. The belief that this can be done is, to be sure, based on a correct observation, namely that one can control behavior by punishment, as every parent knows. But whether punishment changes the child's basic attitude or not depends mainly on whether he believes it to be deserved. If he does, he feels guilty for having transgressed and renounces the bad behavior indefinitely. If he feels the punishment to be unjust, he will stop misbehaving to be sure, but only while the punisher can observe him. The first time he believes he can get away with it, he will resume his misdeeds. At the same time, the punishment increases his resentment and rebelliousness, provoking him to more mischief. Children who have been harshly punished are more prone to become delinquents than those who have been disciplined in gentler ways.

Nations at war, if they can be said to resemble children at all, are clearly like the ones who believe the punishment to be unjust. Since they see themselves as righteous, punishment by their opponents, far from making them contrite, is bitterly resented. While a defeated nation may be forced to accept the victor's terms, it typically bides its time until it can get revenge. This seems to be one of the reasons why one war so often leads to another, as in the cycle of wars between France and Germany between 1870 and 1940.

Insofar as the Vietnam War resembles a holy war, punishment would seem to have particularly little likelihood of success. To suffer and die for a holy cause is highly virtuous, and one hopes through example to convert others by one's own sacrifice. The notion that one can cause people to abandon their ideologies by inflicting pain on them should have died in Rome with the Christian martyrs. In contrast to wars fought for tangible spoils, ideological wars have no natural end point. As a result, in the past they have characteristically been stopped only by exhaustion of both sides after tremendous carnage, with the survivors wtill clainging to their respective beliefs. Today, with weapons of unlimited destructive power lurking in the wings, such wars threaten to expand until they destroy civilization.

These are some of the dark aspects of the picture as a psychologist sees it. Fortunately, the same conditions of life that have created new dangers have also created new incentives and means for overcoming them. From a psychological standpoint, the central long-term task is to learn to understand and deal with people of other nations on their own terms. The new incentives are, on the one hand, the threat of mutual annihilation if nations do not mend their ways and, on the other, the enormous gains in human welfare nations could achieve by working together. As President Johnson has said: "The most exciting horizons are in the life of man himself--and what we can do to improve it. We can eliminate poverty. We can cure man's ills, extend man's life, and raise man's hopes." The new means for promoting international cooperation are supplied by gigantic advances in communication and transportation like Telstar and jet transports. Psychologists, psychiatrists and other have accumulated considerable information as to how to foster mutually helpful communication among citizens of different nations and avoid the pitfalls involved, but it would go too far afield to review their findings.[11,12]

Modern science has created new means of reducing international tension, however, that deserve a word of comment. Many scientific projects that have only recently become feasible require international cooperation to obtain their full benefits. Examples are weather control and space exploration. An experiment done in a boys' camp some years ago suggests that activities requiring cooperation between hostile groups have a powerful effect in reducing mutual antagonism.[13] In this experiment, boys who were initially strangers to each other were formed into two groups. Then the groups were made enemies through athletic competitions. In time, they became like two hostile nations. The members of each group chose their friends only from among themselves, looked down on members of the other, and the two groups fought at every opportunity. Once when a member of one tried to act as a peacemaker, he was promptly ostracized by his fellows. Simply bringing the two groups together did nothing to reduce their mutual antagonism. However, when the camp director arranged matters so that both groups had to cooperate, mutual hostility rapidly diminished. For example, he secretly arranged for the camp water supply to be interrupted, and the whole camp had to get out and repair it. The truck carrying food for an overnight hike unaccountably ran into a ditch and stalled, and all the boys had to get on the tow rope to pull it out. It took a series of such events to break down the hostility between the groups but friendly relations were eventually completely restored.

OBVIOUS PARALLELS

I would hesitate to generalize from 11-year-old boys to nations in conflict were it not for certain obvious parallels. In a sense the nations of the world today are in the same predicament as the boys in the camp. They will have to cooperate in order to survive. Moreover, working together toward common goals seems also to be effective on the international scene. For example, cooperation of many nations in the Antarctic to gain valuable information about the earth's

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[11] Wedge, B. M., *Visitors to the United States and How They See Us*, Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1965.

[12] Kelman, H. C. (ed.), *International Behavior*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965.

[13] Sherif, M., Harvey, O. J., White, B. J., Hood, W. R. and Sherif, C. W., *Intergroup Conflict and Cooperation: The Robbers Cave Experiment*, Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Book Exchange, 1961.

surface that no one of them could acquire alone led to its complete demilitarization and a treaty that all countries have respected.

The development of the Mekong River delta is a similar undertaking. On a larger scale, President Johnson's recent initiatives toward keeping the moon and planets open for international scientific cooperation on the model of Antarctica are most encouraging. Just as everybody would lose in a nuclear war, in this type of project everybody gains.

But this is for the future. A pressing, immediate task is to build bridges--to borrow Secretary McNamara's phrase--between mainland China and the United States. This requires overcoming formidable barriers on both sides. It takes considerable courage to try to make contact with a distrusted adversary, because this exposes one to dangers not only from him but from one's own side as well. The peacemaker's own group is apt to accuse him of disloyalty, while the opponent may try to take advantage of his good will to dupe him or ferret out secrets.

The first step, and probably psychologically the most difficult one, would be for the United States to be willing to re-examine its own image of China. We know that the Chinese midjudge our intentions. Can we be sure that we are not to some extent misjudging theirs? We would have to open our minds to the possibility that their bluster is motivated in large part by fear of our intentions toward them. This view gains plausibility from the illuminating review of the history of the relations of China with the Western powers presented at recent hearings of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

The problem of establishing communication with China and North Vietnam involves overcoming intense mutual mistrust. Here, perhaps what psychiatrists have learned about establishing communication with a frightened, angry and suspicious person may have some relevance. The first step, we have found, is simply to show a persistent willingness to listen to such a person and to refuse to be discouraged by his rebuffs. You studiously avoid provoking him. At the same time you firmly defend yourself against physical attack but you ignore merely verbal abuse.

In approaching a deeply suspicious person, it does not pay to be too friendly. Since he is convinced that you mean him no good, he is prone to misinterpret an overly friendly manner as an effort to put something over on him. So a firm, reserved but not unfriendly manner makes more headway than effusiveness.[14] With persistence in this approach, in time he may come to believe that your professed desire to understand and help him may not be entirely insincere, and the first steps toward useful communication have been made.

THE EXPRESSED REJECTION

Assuming that we are willing to broaden communication with China in an effort to reduce mutual tension, a similar strategy may be appropriate. Our recent proposals may be a beginning. They have met the expected angry rejection, but this should not discourage us from continuing. In view of China's historic sense of humiliation, perhaps we should be prepared to go even further and accept some symbolic humiliation at their hands. If, as is generally anticipated, they scornfully reject the first invitation to join the U.N., perhaps our best strategy would be to urge that the invitation be repeated until it looks as if, by accepting it, they are doing the rest of the world a favor, rather than the reverse.

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[14] Deutsch, M., Producing Change in an Adversary, in R. Fisher (ed.) *International Conflict and Behavioral Science*, New York: Basic Books, 1964, pp. 91-109.

Sometimes it helps to let a frightened, suspicious person overhear you discussing him with someone else. This permits him to listen without having to acknowledge that he is doing so and does not put him under any pressure to respond. That is, it leaves the initiative with him. For these reasons, permitting him to eavesdrop may be less apt to arouse his anxiety and suspicion than a direct attempt to influence him. To make a long jump, the public discussion of our Vietnam and China policies now going on in the United States, which is being overheard by those nations and the rest of the world, may have similar values. Of course, it does carry the danger of reinforcing our adversaries' mistaken belief that our determination to resist will weaken if they persist long enough. But the demonstration that important American policy makers and segments of the public are actively trying to understand our adversaries' view of the world and are searching for ways to improve relations with them might be a better way of relieving their fears concerning our intentions than attempts to reassure them directly.

To conclude, in this shrinking, interdependent world, living daily under the threat of destruction, all nations must eventually learn to understand each other's point of view. They must learn to accept and live with their differences, while searching for and exploiting shared beliefs and goals. This is necessary for the creation of a stable world order that will exclude war as a way of settling international conflicts. I have tried to sketch a few of the psychological aspects of this staggering task, which may indeed prove to be beyond human capabilities. If nations fail to master it, the days of civilization are probably numbered. If they succeed, the potentials for human welfare will have no bounds.

__________National Committee for SANE Nuclear Policy, Inc.

SAYS U.S. RESORT TO FORCE HAS DAMAGED OUR INTERESTS

by Dr. Arthur Larson

What I propose to do is to establish this proposition: Tested by results, the recent policy of resort to physical force in international affairs has generally produced an effect the exact opposite of the one intended and has damaged American interests.

I recall the frequent statement of commentators that "President Johnson understands power." This I believe to be an inaccurate and superficial appraisal. Likes power? Yes. Relies on power? Yes. Understands power? No. Not in international relations.

THE MISUSE IS COMMON

What is power? Power is the ability to produce a desired result.

The most careless colloquial use of the word "power" is that which equates it with raw physical strength. This misuse is common in international matters.

In domestic and personal matters we make no such mistake. We hear constantly of "power of public opinion," the "power of advertising," the "power of the press," and even the "power of a woman's tears." Indeed, we have been repeatedly admonished by one periodical never to underestimate the power of a woman.

We observe every day the results produced by advertising, by public opinion, by the press, and indeed--at more widely spaced intervals--by women's tears. Yet in the international arena there is a curious reluctance to accept this same forth-right definition and to follow where it leads.

Let us assess first the results of the Bay of Pigs invasion and the Dominican intervention. Both are examples of resort to raw military power. Both are also stark examples of flouting of law. If there is any qualified independent lawyer, fundamentalist or not, who has publicly attempted to make a case of the legality of either of these actions, I have not heard of him.

FINALLY, THE RESULT

What was the objective of these actions? To minimize pro-Communism and maximize pro-Americanism.

What was the result? To maximize pro-Communism and to minimize pro-Americanism. Prior to the Dominican intervention, there was probably less pro-Communism and less anti-Americanism in the Dominican Republic than in any other Latin American country. As a result of our intervention pro-Communism became rampant in the Dominican Republic, and crowds assembled by the thousands to shout anti-American slogans.

But even more serious is the fact that both the Bay of Pigs invasion and the Dominican intervention were followed by a shock wave of anti-American indignation throughout Latin America which may have undone the patient work of decades in building a good neighbor relationship.

To this it might be answered that things might have been even worse if we had not intervened in the Dominican Republic, because the Communists might have taken over. This view is specifically advanced in the speech by the State Department's legal adviser.

At this point it becomes necessary to examine the inherent central fallacy of both Communist Chinese and American foreign policy today. This fallacy is the assumption that most of the newly-developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America can be converted into Communist states of the extreme Chinese revolutionary sort by a gush of revolutionary fervor assisted by a certain amount of disorder, intrigue, and Communist-assisted political manipulation.

Communist China may have by now discovered the fallaciousness of this assumption, but so far there is nothing to indicate that the United States has.

THE PRECISE OPPOSITE

For many years, Communist China has been aggressively and illegally promoting its brand of internal revolution in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. What has been the result? In country after country, with Indonesia and Ghana being only the most conspicuous examples, the precise opposite of Communist China's objective has resulted. Not a single newly-developing country has had a successful revolution or coup favorable to Peking because of these illegal Chinese efforts.

On the contrary, those countries, like Ghana and Indonesia, which seemed to have well-established regimes strongly favorable to Communism, have replaced them with regimes that are certainly not pro-Communist and in some instances are conspicuously anti-Communist.

IT'S NOT DUE TO CONTAINMENT

To put the matter bluntly, the People's Republic of China is "in the doghouse" throughout nearly the entire newly developing world. It is of prime importance for the United States to understand why this is so. This development has not come about because of any policy of containment of China by military force on the part of the United States.

Our Vietnam action is a clear example of reliance on containment by force. That the action is illegal is a more debatable question. At my own Rule of Law Research Center, we have made an exhaustive and impartial attempt to disentagle the legal issues, and, so far as the substantive questions of international law are concerned, we can only conclude that legality or illegality turns ultimately upon the correctness or incorrectness of assumed statements of fact--statements that are in sharp dispute not only between the United States and Hanoi, but among many American observers and reporters.

A CHARTER VIOLATION

However, I have no hesitation whatever in saying that the American action, as a matter of procedural law, has been in violation of the United Nations Charter. Article 37 of the Charter states in unqualified terms that when other means of dealing with a threat to the peace have failed, the matter "shall" be referred to the Security Council.

It is fair then to characterize our Vietnam action as a resort to force and an abandonment of law in the name of "containment." Has it succeeded in serving American interests?

There is no scale delicate enough to weigh the pluses and minuses in such a reckoning. How much weight in such a scale of damage to American interest do we assign to the deaths of young Americans? How stands the balance sheet on purely political gain? Here, as in Latin America, our unilateral action has markedly increased anti-Americanism in almost every country in the world, except possibly three or four on the immediate periphery of Vietnam.

We have severely weakened our position of world leadership. Reports from all over the world now tell us that the current picture of the United States, far from being the former picture of a reliable and sincere, if somewhat inexperienced, guardian of peace and law, is that of a confused and unpredictable giant with immense power but no sense of restraint or of direction.

______________Progressive magazine

This list has been compiled by Robert St. John (Address: c/o Leigh Lecture Bureau, 521 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.) and is being distributed at his own expense to answer the question most frequently asked by lecture audiences: "To get the truth what should I read?" ++ No one of the publications listed is guaranteed to contain the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Some are as biased and slanted in their direction as are the mass-appeal journals. However, only by reading such a diversity of publications as those listed below will the average American (who is constantly being bombarded with half-truths by radio, television, newspapers and so-called news magazines) be able to arrive at some approximation of what the facts are and where truth lies.

It is suggested that each interested person band together with ten or fifteen others and that each subscribe to just one of the following publications, and then pass them around in a routine manner.

THE NEW YORK TIMES (Sunday Edition): The weight of the Sunday edition runs up to five pounds, depending on how close to Christmas it is. Most sections (society, classified adv., sports) can be thrown away at once, but what remains will be well worth the subscription price. No other paper in America gives such a wide coverage of the world.
Address: 229 W. 43rd Street, New York, N. Y. 10036. Price: $17.25 for three months.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR: This full-sized daily newspaper is published in a number of regional editions. Each issue contains one article on Christian Science. Otherwise the paper's religious sponsorship in no way colors the contents, which consist of reports from its own staff of able foreign correspondents, and many articles about people and places not involved in any current sensational crisis. This is the only American daily keeping alive old-fashioned constructive journalism and giving space to essay-type writing.
Address: 1 Norway Street, Boston, Mass. Price: $6 for three months.

SATURDAY REVIEW: This weekly, once devoted exclusively to literary matters, now contains one department called "Ideas" in which a bold stand is taken on national and international matters, and also at least one or two articles per issue combining reportage and opinion.
Address: 380 Madison Avenue, New York, 10017 Price: $8 per year.

CURRENT: This provocative monthly contains what its editors call"significant new material from all sources on the frontier problems of today." It covers both national and international affairs.
Address: 905 Madison Avenue, New York 10021. Price; $8 per year.
($5 for students and teachers)

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN WEEKLY: This is a 16-page, tabloid-size edition of a distinguished British daily paper. The weekly, on airmail. paper, is a compilation of the best articles that appeared during the previous six days in the daily. The Guardian is a brilliantly-edited, middle-of-the-road paper with excellent world coverage.
Address: 20 East 53rd Street, New York 10022. Price: $9 a year.

NEW STATESMAN & NATION: This very old British weekly, similar in format to the New Republic, is extremely liberal, always provocative. It is often bitingly critical of American policies. Only a small percentage of its contents will be unintelligible to non-British readers.
Address: 30 E. 60th St., New York 22, or 10 Great Turnstile Road, London, WC1.
Price: $9 per year.

I. F. STONE'S WEEKLY: The editor of this 8-page news sheet has been respected Washington reporter and international observer for more than 30 years. He writes incisively and without fear. Each issue contains half a dozen short articles on matters of prime current interest. All are well-documented with facts & figures that have been suppressed or overlooked by other publications.
Address: 5618 Nebraska Ave., NW., Washington 15, DC.
Price: $5 per year ($4 for gift subscriptions)

CHANGE: This new monthly of about eight pages is put out by the Center of the Study of Democratic Institutions (Fund for the Republic) headed by Robert Hutchins, former president of the University of Chicago. It provides "a channel for discussion of the forces of change; an experimental project of the Center." Neither Change nor the Center propagates any ism except true American democracy.
Address: Box 4427, Santa Barbara, California. Price: $3 per year contribution to publication costs.

NEW REPUBLIC: This is an old liberal weekly. It averages about 40 pages per issue devoted to articles on national & international matters. It is mildly liberal, but not as bold & fearless as it once was. It has a good Washington correspondent & contains some news not found elsewhere.
Address: 381 W. Center St., Marion, Ohio. Price: $8 per year; $6.50, students or armed forces.

THE NATION: This liberal weekly recently celebrated its 100th anniversary. Its regular issues run to about 40 pages. Occasionally it puts out special issues, each devoted to a single subject. These exposes are brilliantly researched & often have wide repercussions.
Address: 333 Sixth Avenue, New York, 10014, New York. Price $10 per year.

THE PROGRESSIVE: This 46-year-old progressive monthly was founded by the late Robert LaFollette. It "makes no attempt to exact complete conformity from its contributors, but rather welcomes a variety of opinions consistent with its general policies," which are to stimulare intelligent discussion of national & international problems.
Address: 408 W. Gorham Street, Madison, Wisconsin. Price: $5 per year.

MINORITY OF ONE: This bold publication describes itself as "an independent monthly for an American alternative, dedicated to the eradication of all restrictions on thought." It runs to about 20 pages per issue, every paragraph loaded with original thinking and intellectual stimuli. The Board of Sponsors includes such men as Dr. Albert Schweitzer (now deceased), Bertrand Russell, Linus Pauling, Jerome Davis, W. H. Ferry, the Rev. Clarence E. Duffy, D. D., & other intellectual leaders.
Address: P.O. Box 544, Passaic, New Jersey. Price: $5 per year.

COMMENTARY: This is an intellectual monthly published by the American Jewish Committee. While it deals primarily with "significant thought & opinion on Jewish affairs" it also contains articles on contemporary issues and is recommended because its pages are "hospitable to diverse points of view, and it hopes to encourage original, creative endeavor in the various fields of culture."
Address: 165 E. 56th Street, New York 10022, New York Price: $8 per year.

THE CHURCHMAN: This monthly is 161 years old. While it is an independent journal of the Protestant Episcopal Church, it seeks to "provide a platform for the free exchange of ideas and opinions" and is one of the most forthright and outspoken publications in America in "the search for peace" and in the promotion of "good will and better understanding among all peoples."
Address: 1074 23rd Avenue North, St. Petersburg, Florida. Price: $6.50 a year.

THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN: This progressive news weekly, containing a minimum of eight tabloid-size newspaper pages per issue, is an extreme left-wing publication. Its masthead states that its editor is "in exile abroad." It often publishes photographs and news stories that are not found in any other publications.
Address: 197 East 4th Street, New York 10009, New York. Price: $7 per year.

THE HUMANIST: This is a bi-monthly (eight issues per year) published by the Americn Humanist Society. While it is primarily devoted to discussions of humanism as a religio-philosophical way of life, each issue also contains provocative articles on national or international matters.
Address: The Humanist, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387. Price: $4 per year.

NEAR-EAST REPORT: This bi-weekly Washington news letter is exclusively on Middle East matters. Its coverage of this area is brilliant & thorough. It often puts out 20 to 40-page surveys on specific subjects, such as a recent one on The Arab Boycott that alone are worth the subscription price.
Address: 1737 H. Street NY, Washington, D.C. 20006. Price: $7 a year including surveys.

VISTA: This new bi-monthly aims to stimulate thought & discussion about international affairs and to work for peace, freedom & justice through the development of international organizations.
Address: UN Association, 345 E. 46th Street, New York, 10017. Price: Free to members of UN Assoc

THE IDLER: This is a small, very off-beat monthly magazine of 32 pages with the sub title: "Public Occurences, Comment, Excursions & Rational Entertainment." It contains articles by such men as EdwardP. Morgan, the liberal ABC radio commentator and Senator Fulbright. Pungent, Entertaining.
Address: 125 Fifth Street, Washington 2, D. C. Price: $3 a year.

TRUTH & THE DRAGON: While this is not a periodical, it is one of the many publications of the American Friends Service Committee which are highly recommended. The price of this one paper-bound book is 75¢. It tells in illustrated form what to guard against in the search for truth. When ordering this book, ask for a list of other publications and periodicals available. This committee is outstanding in its leadership of the fight for truth, freedom and justice.
Address: Friends Service Committee, 160 N. 15th St., Philadelphia 2, Pa.
Price: 75¢.

Note: No pretence is made that this is a complete list of worthwhile publications.

The above list will be revised in another few months, based upon the suggestions of friends. If you know of informative or provocative publications that you would like to recommend, please communicate with Robert St. John, at the above address.

PREPARATION OF A "POSITION PAPER" ON SOME CURRENT PROBLEM OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

NATURE AND PURPOSE OF THIS PROJECT

One of the best ways of integrating one's knowledge of world affairs is to prepare an analysis of some international problem, together with a recommended line of policy for the solution of it. Putting oneself in the position of a government official in the Department of State, for example, who has to formulate American foreign policy, is an extremely realistic way of studying and understanding that policy.

As the concluding exercise in this study of world affairs, therefore, it is suggested that a policy paper be prepared, comparable in substance and method to the policy papers which might be prepared within the Department of State. It should deal with some current problem of American foreign policy and should cover (a) a definition of the problem; (b) an analysis of the background of the problem; (c) a discussion of alternative policies which the United States might adopt in dealing with the problem; and (d) a recommendation of the specific policy that seems best designed to cope with the problem.

Within the Department of State, a policy paper - or position paper, as it is sometimes called - is usually drafted first by a committee of officials in the lower or middle echelons of the Department who have the most direct interest in the problem under consideration. When the paper has been approved by this committee, it is referred to the top officials in the Department of State and to the Secretary of State for a decision.[1] The purpose of the paper is to provide the Secretary of State and his top associates with the necessary information and background on all possible policy alternatives, in order to help them make the wisest foreign policy decision for the United States.

In preparing such a paper, the reader should therefore try to put himself as completely as possible in the position of a Department of State committee which has been asked to prepare a policy recommendation for the Secretary of State or the President. Considering all relevant aspects of the problem - historical, political, economic, psychological, technological, military - he will quickly find that he is applying the interdisciplinary approach to which frequent reference has been made in this book. Although he will not, of course, have access to the type of classified or confidential information available to government officials, his study will not be unduly restricted, nor will the value of his experience be reduced in preparing a policy recommendation. A very high proportion of government intelligence, perhaps 90 percent or more, consists of research and analysis based on nonconfidential materials available in any good library. The important function is the careful study of this information and the intelligent use of it in examining all implications of the various policy alternatives under consideration.

[1] Final decisions on major foreign policy problems are not usually made by the Secretary of State alone but by the President of the United States. Before making such decisions, the President obtains the advice of other key executive departments and agencies involved in foreign affairs, such as the National Security Council, Central Intelligence Agency, United States Information Agency, De artment of Defense, Treasury Department, Department of Commerce, Atomic Energy Commission, and the Export-Import Bank.

SUGGESTED OUTLINE

In order to assure some consistency and uniformity of organization, it is suggested that the paper be organized in the following manner:

Title

State the title in question form.
Example: What Should United States Policy Be
Regarding the Unification of Germany?

A. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This should be a concise statement of the foreign policy problem under consideration. Usually three or four sentences will suffice.

Example. If German unification is the topic, the problem might be stated as follows:

Since the end of World War II, the Soviet Union and the Western powers have been unable to agree on the terms for the reunification of Germany, thereby leaving unresolved what is perhaps the most critical current problem of Eurpoe. Whether German unification can be accomplished without a heightened danger of communist infiltration or whether any Western concessions on such points as neutralizing Germany or restricting German rearmament should be made in an effort to reach a compromise agreement are some major unresolved aspects of the problem. The United States is interested in any possibility of breaking the stalemate on German unification, and the problem now is to determine whether progress in this direction is more likely to result from maintaining the present American policy or from making certain modifications in it.

B. BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

This should be a reasonably detailed account of how the problem originated and developed. It should indicate the main factors contributing to the issue and list the principal events or actions that have taken place. If major proposals have been previously discussed for dealing with the problem, appropriate reference should be made to them. The viewpoints of the major governments interested in the problem might also be relevant. The purpose of this background statement is to provide the necessary information on which an intelligent discussion of policy alternatives can be based. It should be approximately five or six pages in length. It should include footnotes to indicate sources of the main points of information.

Example. With the problem of German unification again as an illustration, the background statement might appropriately cover such points as (1) the basic postwar agreements on the division of Germany; (2) an explanation of Germany's political, economic, and potential military significance in Europe, together with the reasons why both the Soviet Union and the Western powers have felt that Germany could not be allowed to come under the domination of the other side; (3) a summary of the major proposals regarding German unification that both sides have advanced since 1946; (4) the reactions or replies of the various governments to these proposals; (5) an explanation of German official and public opinion views on unification; (6) an analysis of the current positions of the different governments and the chief points of disagreement at present.

C. ALTERNATIVE POLICIES

At least three alternative policies should be presented for dealing with the problem under consideration. These should be proposals the United States might be reasonably expected to adopt, that is, they should be proposals that a United States official might reasonably defend as being in the best interest of United States security and welfare. The arguments pro and con regarding each alternative should be indicated. Footnotes should be used to indicate sources of main ideas or arguments. This section will normally be five to six pages in length.

Example. In the case of German unification, such alternative policies as the following might be suggested, with a pro and con analysis for each alternative:

1. The United States should continue its present policy of insisting of free, impartially supervised elections throughout Germany, with the right of any freely elected German government to decide its own future policies on such questions as NATO membership, rearmament, or neutralization.
2. In an effort to secure Soviet acceptance of the principle of free elections throughout Germany, the United States should agree to support the neutralization of Germany and/or abandon any plans for the sharing of nuclear weapons with the Federal Republic of Germany.
3. In an effort to secure Soviet acceptance of the principle of free elections throughout Germany, the United States should agree to merge the NATO alliance with the East European security system (Warsaw Pact) and form a regional all-European security pact under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. A united Germany would be a member of this all-European security system.

D. RECOMMENDED POLICY

This concluding section should indicate the policy it is recommended that the United States adopt. The reasons for making the recommendation should be given, together with the reasons why various alternative policies do not seem desirable. This final policy recommendation may be one of the alternative policies discussed in Section C, or it may be a combination and synthesis of two or more alternatives. If it is one of the alternatives already presented, it is not necessary to repeat in full the arguments in favor of the policy. A brief summary will suffice.

FOOTNOTES

Notes should be numbered consecutively and may be placed either at the bottom of each page or on a separate page at the end of the paper. They should generally conform to the following style:

Books

Fred Warner Neal, War and Peace and Germany (New York, 1962), p. 89.

If the following footnote also refers to the same book, it is not necessary to repeat the author and title, but simply to write Ibid., p. 102. If, after a different reference has been listed in a subsequent footnote, the Neal book were again to be cited, the reference could be as follows: Neal, op, cit., p. 106.

Periodicals

Tang Tsou and Morton H. Halperin, "Mao Tse-tung's Revoluntionary Strategy and Peking's International Behavior," The American Political Science Review, March, 1965, p. 80.

Newspapers

The New York Times, June 15, 1966, p. 3.

Documents

U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, Background Information Relating to Southeast Asia and Vietnam, Committee Print, 89th Congress, 1st Session January 14, 1965, p. 28.

GENERAL REFERENCES

The following list of references may be helpful in gathering information on the general background of various foreign policy problems:

Public Affairs Information Service. An index to books, pamphlets, articles, and government documents on various topics in public affairs. Very useful guide, especially for finding references to documents and similar studies.

Department of State Bulletin. Weekly publication of the United States Department of State including major statements, speeches, and articles on U.S. Foreign Relations by U.S. officials, as well as selected correspondence with other governments and texts of important agreements.

Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature. An index to periodical articles.

International Index to Periodicals. Similar to the *Reader's Guide* but includes references to some foreign periodicals and to some of the scholarly journals. In April, 1965, the title of this index was changed to Social Sciences & Humanities Index.

New York Times Index. An index to all articles in *The New York Times.* Very useful sometimes in checking details or locating public speeches and documents.

Facts on File. An excellent index and summary of all main current events, year by year.

Council on Foreign Relations, *The United States in World Affairs.* Annual surveys of major developments in U.S. foreign policy.

Council on Foreign Relations, *Documents on American Foreign Relations.* Annual series of documents on events of the year. Prior to 1952, the volumes were published by the World Peace Foundation.

Royal Institute of International Affairs, *Survey of International Affairs,* Annual survey of all major international problems.

Royal Institute of International Affairs, *Documents on International Affairs.* Annual series.

United Nations Yearbook. Annual report on all UN activities. Excellent, comprehensive accounts of all issues that have come before the UN.

United Nations Review. Monthly periodical on current UN activities.

U.N. Monthly Chronicle, successor to the *United Nations Review* since May, 1964.

Foreign Policy Association, *Headline Series.* A series of booklets on a wide range of international problems. Objective and popular in style. Approximately six are published each year.

OPINION BALLOT

American Power and Foreign Policy

Make up your own mind which U.S. policies you support, or what changes in policy you favor. On the ballot below, check all of those policies with which you are in agreement. Or add comments in your own words.

1. What broad policies should the U.S. follow in the use of its power overseas?

_____a. Intervene whenever aggression manifests itself, whether a formal U.S. treaty commitment is involved or not.

_____b. Maintain and honor all present commitments.

c. Begin to reduce present commitments, restricting U.S. power to the defense of:

    _____1. Western Hemisphere; Western Europe; Japan, the Philippines and our Anzus allies.

    _____2. Western Hemisphere and Western Europe.

    _____3. Western Hemisphere.

    _____4. North America.

_____d. Other, or comment ____

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2. What specific policies should the U.S. follow in dealing with "wars of national liberation."

_____a. Intervene whenever Communist aggression is involved.

_____b. Intervene whenever failure to do so will create "regional instability or expanding proportions."

_____c. Intervene only where vital U.S. interests are *directly* threatened.

_____d. Refrain from intervening under any circumstances.

_____e. Other, or comment ____

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
Reference Books Available in Our Library

Yearbooks

Ref. 031 Co	Collier's Yearbook. This serves as a supplement to Collier's Encyclopedia and is an annual survey of events of the previous year.
Ref. 031 En	Encyclopedia Americana Annual. The information is similar to that found in the above.
Ref. 031 En	Encyclopedia Britannica Book of the Year. Each yearbook is a record of events of the previous year and also serves as a supplement to the Encyclopedia Britannica. It included many short articles, some biography and obituaries of famous people who have died during the year.
Ref. 317.3 In	Information Please Almanac. This is an almanac with a general class arrangement and a subject index. There are special timely articles in each volume; reviews of the year in Washington; and statistical and historical descriptions of the various countries of the world.
Ref. 329 Po	Political Handbook of the World. This book gives chief government officials, party programs and leaders, political events, and information on the press.
Ref. 310.58 St.	Statesman's Year Book. This describes the government, population, religion, finance, defense, production, industry, commerce, communication, money, and weights and measures of the countries of the world.
Ref. 327.73 St	Stebbins, Richard P. U.S. in World Affairs. This presents a clear and readable account of international activities of the U.S.
Ref. 317.3 Wo	World Almanac and Book of Facts. This yearbook is published on January 1 of each year and contains information and statistics on almost every subject.
Ref. 320 Ye	Yearbook of World Affairs. This yearbook contains survey articles pertaining to world affairs.

Encyclopedia

Ref. 031 Co	Collier's Encyclopedia. This set has a popular, clear, and concise style. Some articles are long and well-developed, but, in general, articles are short under small subjects.
Ref. 031 Co	Columbia Encyclopedia. This is a brief and simple presentation which is found in one volume. Each article is written in simple language which requires no specialized knowledge of any subject.
Ref. 031 En	Encyclopedia Americana. This includes excellent scientific articles and wide information on American cities and towns.
Ref. 031 En	Encyclopedia Britannica. This is especially scholarly and has unusual illustrations. It contains detailed and lengthly articles signed by specialists.
Ref. 303 En	Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. This is a comprehensive encyclopedia of the entire field of social sciences. It aims to cover all important topics in the fields of political science, economics, law, anthropology, sociology, penology, and the social aspects of ethics, education, philosophy, psychology, biology, geography, medicine, and art.
Ref. 031 Li	Lincoln Library of Essential Information. This two-volume reference work serves as a combination encyclopedia and handbook of facts.
Ref. 031 Wo	World Book Encyclopedia. This set has a rather simple style and is well illustrated.

Biographical Material

Ref. 920.03 Ch	Chamber's Biographical Dictionary. This standard reference work contains biographies of over 15,000 men and women, contemporary and past, of all nations.
Ref. 920.03 Cu	Current Biography. This is a monthly featuring national and international names in the news of the day. It is cumulated into an annual volume and is a source of information about political leaders, etc.
Ref. 920 Ka	Kane, Joseph Nathan. Facts about the Presidents. This volume is a compilation of biographical and historical date concerning American presidents.
Ref. 920.03	Who's Who in America. This is a biographical dictionary of notable living American men and women. It is generally most useful for current information on persons of national prominence.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ROLE PLAYING
"American Intervention: Making Foreign Policy Decisions"

CASE: You are the American ambassador in country "X" (Latin America), a small underdeveloped nation ruled by a military dictator friendly to the U.S. A popular revolution has broken out. Communist elements, supported by a nearby Communist country, are known to be heavily involved. The U.S. is committed by treaty to come to the aid of country "X" in the event of "outside aggression." Charging outside aggression by Communists, the distator of country "X" appeals for American aid in squashing the revolt. What action should Washington take, and why? You have recommended the immediate dispatch of U.S. troops.

PARTICIPANTS INSTRUCTIONS: Each of you will participate in one of the below mentioned panels. The intent of such an assignment is to make you aware of the difficult nature of foreign policy decision. This is a role-playing exercise and every attempt should be made to approach it and execute it realistically.

PANELS:

A. Policy Decision Staff - A panel of policy makers will be appointed who will weigh the evidence, evaluate conflicting viewpoints and eventually arrive at a policy formulation.
B. Pentagon - presents the military point of view and should assess the strategic importance of the country "X", keeping in mind its general location as related to other military obligations currently being shouldered by the U.S. It should also weigh the advantages of various kinds of intervention such as troops, military advisors, or just presence.
C. State Dept. - Your duty is to consider American treaty commitments to country "X" to define the nature of the insurrection (popular revolt or Communist takeover?), and to assess possible threats to the U.S. position and prestige in the area if we do not intervene.
D. Congressional Advisory Committee - represents the noninterventionist point of view.

OPERATION: A spokesman from each panel will give a presentation of about 10-15 minutes before the policy panel. The policy panel will then work out its decision and make a statement.

GRADING: One test grade for credit. Each panel must submit their recommendation to the teacher before a statement is issued before the policy board. This statement will determine the group's grade. The recommendation should be complete and well qualified. Support your conclusions. The policy board shall submit its decision in writing with appropriate explanatory remarks. You will have several days to submit your written report following your oral decision and comments. The group grade will also depend on your oral presentation.

U.S. FORCES ARE IN 68 COUNTRIES

by Edward P. Morgan
Newsday Syndicate

While Sen. Symington tools up his new ad hoc subcommittee to examine what influence our international military commitments may have on U.S. foreign policy, there is time for the rest of us to do some cramming on the subject.

Attention, class!

Q. How big are the U.S. armed forces?

A. 3,407,557 men (and some women) by official mid-January Pentagon figures.

Q. Where are they?

A. Nearly half, or one and a half million, are serving abroad.

Q. Mainly involved in Vietnam?

A. Heavens no! Less than half. We've only 532,500 troops in Vietnam, plus, of course, support from 35,700 7th Fleet personnel offshore; 45,000 on Thailand bases; 40,000 on Okinawa.

Q. Does that about do it for Asia?

A. By no means. We still have 55,000 GIs patrolling the truce in Korea. And 40,000 in Japan proper. And 30,000 in the Philippines.

Q. Could we possibly be overmanned somewhere?

A. You took the words right out of some influential legislators' mouths. We still maintain in Japan, by official count, 48 "major military installations,"--30 for Army, 11 for Navy, 7 for Air Force. One important House member argues we can safely reduce U.S. personnel there by one-third, maybe even two-thirds.

Q. What about the Philippines?

A. One survey, never released, reportedly recommends a cutback to one island base. We now operate a dozen installations there, including Clark Field.

Q. But World War II is a quarter of a century behind us. Don't tell me the fickle winds of the Cold War still have us scattered from hell to breakfast over the rest of the globe.

A. The U.S. today maintains a "military presence" in at least 68 foreign countries. These range from MAAGS--military assistance advisory groups (four men in Tunisia, 116 in Brazil)--to full-blown bases.

Q. Speaking of bases, how many do we have abroad?

A. In Pentagonese, "major military installations or activities outside the United States" total 400. One senator, who should know, says the exact figure is 432.

Q. Great scott! What have we missed?

A. Fasten your seatbelt for just a sample globe-girdling rollcall: Ethiopia (1); Libya (1); Greece (2); Spain (8); Iceland (1); British West Indies,, Bermuda and the Bahamas (7); Cuba (5), all embraced by Guantanamo naval base; Panama Canal Zone (13); Taiwan (3); Pakistan (1); Turkey (3); Berlin and West Germany (146); United Kingdom (12).

Q. Wow!

A. Some official figures are deceptive or classified. We have 320,000 men in Western Europe and Britain, some 21,000 aboard the 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean. But many of the land-based military have wives and children with them, on a three-year hitch. One Capital source, for example, reckons that dependents bring the total American presence in Japan to 83,000.

For "the Middle East and Africa" the Pentagon's force list is 10,000. Actually we may have at least 30,000 men in and out of uniform in Ethiopia, Turkey and Iran, some on what might be called dainty assignments. The latest official count of U.S. military in Latin America is 30,000, though that includes nearly a score of MAAGs. And about 15,000 Army men in Panama.

Q. Still, all that manpower must be a bargain; it's the fancy weapons that really cost, right?

A. Not so fast. Depending on how you figure, the care and feeding of nearly three and a half million men (not to mention certain allowances for dependents on foreign station) may eat up nearly half the $81.5 billion national defense budget estimate for fiscal 1970. Actually for a truer cost of national defense, throw in nearly $6 billion as the estimated Veterans' Administration 1970 outlay for insurance, pensions, hospitalization, etc. And don't forget the CIA, whose budget is secret but which at last reports was above half a billion and presumably climbing.

Q. But isn't protecting our national security cheap at any price?

A. How much of a bargain did the Pueblo incident buy us? Is paying higher prices for poorer weapons, as the Washington Post revealed the other day, a sound investment? Are we getting our military money's worth in Japan and Okinawa where recent anti-American demonstrations signal flashpoints of possibly worse trouble to come?

Q. Gee, the Symington committee has its work cut out for it, right?

A. Right. Our next assignment will be to evaluate the ABM.

______________The Minneapolis Tribune

WE HONORABLE IMPERIALISTS

by Joseph Featherstone

Are we an empire? It was an easier question to answer in 1898, when the issue was seizing the Philippines and civilizing its inhabitants with Krags, the M-16's of the period. Robert L. Beisner's study, *Twelve Against Empire*, shows that the anti-imperialists of that day were upper-middle-class conservatives--Mugwumps, proudly and sometimes foolishly above party, and old-fashioned Republicans whose emotional loyalty was to the party of Lincoln, not McKinley. Imperialism in their view was unconstitutional as well as unprofitable. America's first adventure in world power politics seemed a threat to our uniqueness and innocence. They were appalled by the rawness and greed of the new industrial order, fearful of the immigrant masses. They erroneously imagined they were leading a popular movement.

At its height their Anti-Imperialistic League had 30,000 members and half a million contributors, an impressive number in a day when, as Ernest R. May has pointed out, the public interested in foreign policy was small. Partly because of their efforts, the Treaty of Paris, annexing the Philippines and launching the U.S. as a Pacific power, was nearly defeated. Their uproar may also have contributed to a rising wariness about territorial conquest. Nevertheless, they were failures: the new lands were annexed, Aguinaldo's insurrection was mercilessly stamped out, McKinley was vindicated by re-election in 1900. And in the long run, Beisner notes that they proved to be mistaken on a number of counts. The great territorial empire didn't last--the Americans decided in the thirties to free the Philippines, largely for economic reasons. Nor did colonial rule corrupt American society to any great extent. As colonialisms go, ours was relatively benign. They failed conspicuously to influence the course of U.S. policy in Latin America, partly because they were never altogether convinced that America shouldn't rule sovereign in its own hemisphere. In his revealing portrait of Andrew Carnegie, a study in guile and duplicity, Beisner shows how a man could favor national independence for the Philippines, yet refuse to concede that a country like Cuba was capable of self-determination.

A large part of the failure of the anti-imperialists was political. Their positions were often contradictory; the Mugwump disdain for the populace and politics was no help. The Republicans among them, including a powerful man like Thomas B. Reed, Speaker of the House, were hampered by party loyalties and a peculiar diffidence. It never occurred to most of the anti-imperialists that their problem was to overcome the relative popularity of this "splendid little war" and its consequences. If the Philippine insurrection has dragged on and the casualties mounted, then the war, like the one in Vietnam, might have come to seem less righteous to the public. As in Vietnam, the opposition party in the late nineties had made itself an accomplice of the Administration's policy. Beisner points out that the Democrats had cried for war in 1898 as loudly as anyone else. Bryan performed feats of demagogy that no candidate equalled in 1968, volunteering to fight in Cuba, then opposing expansion, then voting for the peace treaty, then campaigning in 1900 as an anti-imperialist. The anti-imperialists were all old men, nostalgic for the past, disgusted with the present. Born in the 1820's and 1830's, they had outlived the agrarian Republic of their dreams.

What survives very well in 1969 is their moral appeal, the aversion to leaders who try to impose their will on other nations, and to killing people in the name of abstractions like "responsibility." The Mugwump voice of William James was never raised in a better cause than when he insisted that the McKinley government had taken an "intensely living and concrete situation" and dealt with it by murderous abstractions. Perhaps this came of becoming a world power, for "the bigger the unit you deal with, the hollower, the more brutal, the more mendacious is the life displayed." But as Beisner says, the anti-imperialists were rejected for their gloom and pessimism and age by an optimistic people that fancied itself immune from such judgments.

Just as the ideal, if not the reality, of the nation is dimming, so the notion that there are lessons to read from the past is becoming disreputable. But if lessons are suspect, history can at least suggest continuities. One of the most striking things about the anti-imperialists of 1898 is their nationalism, the extremely parochial nature of their concerns. The measure of what America should do, in and to the world, was its impact on America. What happened to the world came a poor second. This nationalism lay behind the fear of colonialism's corrupting influence--it was not especially what happened to the Philippinos or Cubans, but to us. Thus the willingness of many anti-imperialists to abandon the Philippines to its own devices, even though they believed it unfit for self-government. Their proprietary attitude toward possessions in this hemisphere on the other hand, reflected a nationalist sense of manifest destiny.

It would be hard to accuse the peace movement today of an excess of patriotism, but you do keep seeing Vietnam used as a model, an illustration of a thesis, anything but a suffering country. This approaches the parochialism of the earlier anti-imperialists, although it can't equal that of our national security managers to whom Vietnam--or any of those other dominoes--is a testing ground for global strategy against wars of national liberation.

It was not clear to most of the earlier anti-imperialists that an aggressive, militant sense of manifest destiny was as much a part of our past as a peaceful tradition of anti-colonialism. Nor were they aware of how the language they used reflected Darwinian doctrines of struggle and survival of the fittest applied to national rivalries. Some of them took note of the economic arguments for annexation, which they tried to disprove. (After a long period in which Marxist and Beardian economic analyses have been subject to caricature and ritual ridicule, historians are reconsidering the economic aspects of imperialism, most notably Walter LaFeber, who has shown how American political leaders were influenced by the idea that colonial expansion would benefit industries suffering from overproduction.) Some anti-imperialists seemed to recognize what Richard Hofstadter has suggested; that the war offered a release from the unrest and turmoil in America, a psychic escape from the problems of a nation that seemed on the edge of industrial civil war. It seems curious that few, if any, saw the danger in growing acceptance of fashionable European and particularly English rationales for imperialism.

We know better, thank God. Or do we? I've just finished reading a symposium in which some of the scholars who egged us on in Vietnam and some who have opposed the war met to assess its "lessons." *No More Vietnams* is melancholy reading, because it is apparent that even most of the critics of the war tacitly accept America's counter-revolutionary role in the world. There is no suggestion that political subversion and direct military intervention in the affairs of lesser nations is either imprudent or immoral. Vietnam is explained away as the result of an excess of benevolence, the product of near-sighted but visionary liberal evangelism. We are a nation erring through generosity, like one of Henry James' innocents, trapped in the dark labyrinths of a wicked world.

This of course is not the picture of America held by most politicians, not to mention scholars, in the Third World. There, and in radical circles here, for example, American policy simply reflects the concerns of powerful economic interests. There is more truth to this than we usually like to admit, but it is not a complete explanation.

Wars are fought by noncapitalist states, for one thing; for another, there is little, or was little, American investment in Vietnam. Our businessmen have, in fact, become increasingly opposed to the war. Stocks rise at rumors of peace. Nor does strict economic interest satisfactorily explain the arms race, although everyone knows that economic interests play an important role. (Just what the role is awaits some scholarly scrutiny. Victor Perlo tried to estimate the direct interests of the biggest U.S. corporations in disarmament and the tax benefits it would bring, and found that their interests were about evenly divided.)

Vietnam is the nub of the problem today. The Leninist argument that it is the creature of the most powerful economic interests in society, doesn't wash. As Richard J. Barnet argues in his brilliant new book, *Intervention and Revolution*, the Leninist theory underestimates the frequently independent role of the national security bureaucracy, which has the money and the power to develop its own conception of the national interest, and which has committed the nation to a policy of unilateral interventionism all over the world. It is not that the military and the bureaucrats are any more power-hungry than anybody else, but if you have a Pueblo, or a U-2, or counter-insurgency troops, there is an institutional drive to use them. Beyond that, there is an impulse for total control of world conditions, total security, and a tendency to see all revolutionary movements as threatening American security. Since the search for perfect security, like perfect peace, is endless, greater American military power and political influence become ends in themselves. No one inside the system and few outside critics question whether increasing U.S. influence and control in the world is desirable.

It seems to me that Barnet is correct in seeing a consistent thread in our post-war foreign policy: the desire of the single most powerful nation to extend its control over the world environment. This is what all nations try to do, but few have the resources to try it on the U.S. scale. There is no country in the world in which our national security bureaucracy cannot find some vital American interest, usually a counter-revolutionary interest.

Obviously this is only the start of an exploration of imperialism up-dated. A President's personality, his staff, accident, and a hundred other factors have gone into the making of our new interventionism. Barnet lists some quite complex psychological and ideological elements: the fear of attack, of falling from power, the urge to make other nations over in our image, the refusal of the interventionists to admit, even as a matter of *Realpolitik*, that American interests are separate from those of mankind. A fuller explanation is needed also of how much the security apparatus needs and fosters popular anti-Communism.

Whether you call it imperialism or not, it seems to me that we are just beginning, faintly, to understand what the militarization of our foreign policy means. We still do not understand the roots of our counter-revolutionary obsessions, the American Romantic ego's refusal to recognize boundaries to itself.

____________The New Republic

FACTUAL KNOWLEDGE SURVEY

The United States and World Affairs

DIRECTIONS: Place the letter of the answer in the space provided in the left-hand margin.

__________1. The State Department is part of the a) Legislative branch b) Executive branch c) Judicial branch d) Independent branch of government.

__________2, The amount of money appropriated for the Foreign Assistance Program (the Mutual Security Program) in _____ was approximately, a) $600 million, b) $4 million, c) $4 billion, d) $100 thousand.

__________3. The function of the CIA is to, a) assemble vital information about other countries, b) distribute information about other countries, c) regulate international commerce, d) administer our technical and economic assistance program.

__________4. Which of the following territories was not obtained as a result of the Spanish-American war? a) Guam, b) The Philippines, c) Puerto Rico, d) Panama Canal Zone.

__________5. The Secretary of State is, a) appointed by the President, b) appointed by members of the Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs, c) elected by the Foreign Service Board, d) elected by a vote of the American people.

__________6. Congress takes a direct role in making foreign policy in all but one of the following instances: a) appropriations of funds, b) dispatching of troops abroad, c) ratifying treaties, d) approving nominations of ambassadors.

__________7. The United States is not a member of a) ANZUS, b) NATO, c) The Rio Treaty, d) CENTO.

__________8. Approximately what proportion of our total Federal Budget is spent on national security? a) 2 percent, b) 50 percent, c) 80 percent, d) 16 percent.

__________9. Which of the following raw materials is not imported by the United States? a) tin, b) oil, c) chromite, d) rubber.

__________10. The National Security Council is part of, a) the United Nations, b) the Soviet Presidium, c) the Congressional Committee on Investigations, d) the Executive branch of the American Government.

FISCAL YEAR 1969 FOREIGN ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

	Administration's Request	Appropriation
Development loan fund	$ 765,000,000	$ 300,000,000
Technical Cooperation	235,000,000	167,000,000
American schools abroad	15,100,000	14,000,000
Local Currency	(3,100,000)	(5,100,000)
Survey of investment opportunities	3,000,000	________
Alliance for Progress		
Loans	515,000,000	255,000,000
Grants	110,000,000	81,500,000
Partners of the Alliance	________	________
International Organizations	142,255,000	125,000,000
United Nations Children's Fund	________	1,000,000
Supporting Assistance	595,000,000	365,000,000
Contingency Fund	45,000,000	5,000,000
Administrative Expenses	62,000,000	54,000,000
Total Economic	2,500,000,000	1,380,600,000
Military Assistance	420,000,000	375,000,000
GRAND TOTAL	2,920,000,000	1,755,600,000

An even more drastic reduction was that suffered by the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs in the Department of State from $40 million last year to $31 million for fiscal 1969. This cut of one-third was the severest in its history. The programs affected include Exchange of Persons, Teen-age Exchanges, Special Services to Nongrant Students, Volunteers to America (a reverse Peace Corps), Special Educational and Cultural Activities, Aid to American-Sponsored Schools Abroad, Cultural Presentations, and Multilateral Organizational Activities (including the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO).

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS WORKSHEET

1. List all factors which inhibit resolution of each of the below problems. Explain.
2. Which of the factors can be resolved by scientific or technological break through? Explain.
3. Which of the factors require a change in values or cultural reorientation? Explain.
4. Which factors are susceptable to outside help; self-help? Explain.

INCREASE FOOD PRODUCTION	CONTROL BIRTHS

ECONOMICS OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT

FILM GUIDE

An examination of the aspirations of under-developed areas, the difficulties confronting them with respect to economic development, and possible courses of action. Presents some startling comparisons of income levels in different countries, and outlines several characteristics common to underdeveloped areas. The student is thus introduced to an economic problem which is sure to be an important feature of the history of the last half of the twentieth century.

II. KEY IDEAS

A. Two thirds of the world's population are poorly housed, poorly fed, and poorly clothed. They live in underdeveloped nations with a per capita income of $200 or less a year. The following statistics are presented in the film to illustrate income differentials among selected nations.

Country	Annual Per Capita Income
United States	$2400
Venezuela	800
Peru	140
Egypt	130
Congo	100
South Korea	80
China	60 (approx.)
Pakistan	60 "
India	60 "

In addition, in a recent year the U.S. enjoyed 40% of the world's income, although it has only 6% of the world's population. At the other end of the income spectrum, 70% of the world's population got only 20% of the world's income. Income disparaties have always existed between nations, but the recognition by the common people of underdeveloped nations that it is possible to live above a mere subsistence level, has made these differentials a source of great social and political issues today.

B. Strong similarities exist among underdeveloped economies. Six of these are listed and examined in the film:

1. Many have a heavy dependence upon one or two products for the income of most of the people. These are usually primary or agricultural products and comprise the bulk of the exports of the underdeveloped nation. Examples in the film include:

Country	Product	% of Total Exports
One Export		
Cuba	Sugar	86%
Bolivia	Tin	80%
Egypt	Cotton	79%
Brazil	Coffee	63%
Chile	Copper	60%
Two Exports		
Ceylon	Tea	62%
	Rubber	16%
Pakistan	Jute	46%
	Cotton	31%
Indonesia	Rubber	36%
	Oil	25%

Most of these exports are shipped to the developed economies, so that the underdeveloped nations are very vulnerable to slight changes in demand in the industrialized nations. Not only is the standard of living directly and seriously affected by any fall in export earnings, but the primary source of foreign currencies by which a poor nation can purchase industrial output from the developed nations is reduced.

2. All underdeveloped economies are characterized by old or even ancient methods of producing goods and services. They have neither the machines nor the skilled labor necessary to adopt more modern techniques, and labor is cheap but capital is dear, so methods using much of the former and little of the latter persist. As an indication of the amount of electrical machinery used in the production process, the film lists the number of megawatt hours of electrical energy per capita consumed in selected countries. These figures are:

Country	Megawatt hours per capita, 1952
United States	62.1
Canada	47.0

Country	Megawatt hours per capita, 1952
Puerto Rico	9.4
Japan	6.7
Turkey	3.9
Ghana	3.0
South Korea	2.4
Laos	2.0
Jordan	1.3

As these figures imply, little electrical energy is used in underdeveloped countries; most of the production of goods and services in underdeveloped countries can be directly attributed to physical labor. This severely restricts the possible productivity levels of the workers.

3. A low rate of capital formation is another characteristic common to underdeveloped economies. Of a nation's total output of any time period, a part is devoted to consumption. This contributes to the standard of living during the particular time period involved. The remainder of the output is channeled into investment, or the production of capital goods, which is then used in the productive process to increase output, and thus the standard of living, in following time periods. An example is given in the film in this context concerning the one-man economy of Robinson Crusoe. Given that he has only so many hours to devote to work, Robinson could spend all of his time to get food (consumption goods) or he could devote some time to clearing fields, making tools, etc. (investment). If he followed the latter course, his present standard of living would be lower because he would have to devote less time to the pursuit of obtaining food. However, the use of these capital goods would increase his standard of living in the future. Thus, by devoting resources to the production of capital goods society is enjoying a lower present standard of living than if all resources were utilized in the production of consumer goods. In the U.S., we devote about 15% of our annual output to investment. In underdeveloped countries, however, a very high percentage of the total output must be devoted to consumption goods simply to retain a subsistence standard of living for the people, so little can be devoted to investment.

The amount of capital formation from domestic sources is therefore severely restricted.

Another complicating factor is the low level of efficiency with which capital is used in underdeveloped nations, as indicated in the so-called capital-output ratio. In the U.S. about one additional unit of output results on the average for each three additional units of capital goods. In underdeveloped countries, the ratio is about one unit of output on the average for each 6 units of capital goods. In other words, for the same increase in capital goods in the U.S. and in an underdeveloped country, the increase in output in the U.S. would be on the average twice that of the increase in the underdeveloped nation. This very inefficient use of capital goods is due to the lack of labor skills for operating and maintaining capital equipment, and to the lack of managerial ability to organize the productive process efficiently. Both the inability to devote many productive resources to the output of capital goods and the inefficient use of those capital goods which do exist prevent most underdeveloped nations from growing as rapidly as the more developed economies. The income differentials between the industrial and the backward nations therefore continue to grow.

4. The development plans of many of the underdeveloped nations are further complicated by a rapidly rising population. The following chart, presented in the film, shows stages of population growth sometimes alleged to succeed one another as a result of economic growth.

STAGE	BIRTH RATE	DEATH RATE	POPULATION INCREASE
I	High	High	Relatively Stable
II	High	Falling	Explosive Increase
III	Falling	Falling	Slower Growth
IV	Stable - Low	Stable - Low	Slow Growth

Of the underdeveloped nations, parts of Africa are placed in Stage I while in Stage II are other parts of Africa, Central and South America, Egypt, Laos, and Cambodia. A rising population causes several difficulties for economic growth. More food is needed to feed the increased population, and more job opportunities are necessary to employ the additional workers. In order for per capita income to rise, the rate of increase of income must be greater than the rate of increase of population. In some underdeveloped nations, national income is rising but at a lower rate than population so that per capita income is actually falling.

5. Illiteracy is another characteristic common to underdeveloped nations. In the U.S. we have 3% to 4% illiteracy. In comparison to this figure, the film notes the following levels of illiteracy among selected underdeveloped countries in Africa.

Country	Percent illiteracy
Union of South Africa	55-60%
Uganda	70-75%
Egypt	75-80%
Nigeria	85-90%
Liberia	90-95%
Ethiopia	95-99%

Illiteracy restricts the workers to the most simple types of jobs. Skilled positions and managerial tasks are impossible to fill with an illiterate individual. Resources are used inefficiently. Output is heavily dependent upon simple physical labor.

6. The last characteristic presented is the inability of most underdeveloped nations to develop a growth plan. The film notes four causes of this:

a. The lack of interest by the rulers (E.G., Saudia Arabia).

b. Foreign domination (e.g., Angola).

c. Lack of resources (e.g. the Congo).

d. Geographic location out of the mainstream of civilization (e.g., Nepal).

Underdeveloped nations simply have not, as a whole, been able to coordinate the sectors of the economy into an overall plan of economic development.

C. In addition to the economic change necessary for growth, cultural changes must occur in underdeveloped nations. A traditional "way of life" is going to disappear and with it many things which the inhabitants cherish. Any period of change is characterized by the old forces resisting the new. With the "revolution of rising expectations," underdeveloped nations must decide what in society must change and what can remain the same in a period of economic growth. And most of all, these nations must realize that spiritual and cultural improvement can parallel economic improvement. Social change does not mean spiritual and cultural decay; material well-being can be used as an instrument for improvement of both.

D. Economic Vocabulary:

Consumer goods: those goods which are used directly for the purpose of satisfying human wants. They contribute immediately to the standard of living of society.

Capital goods: goods used in the production of other goods (e.g. buildings, equipment, and other facilities.)

Investment: the production of capital goods.

Capital formation: increasing the total stock of capital goods (by investment).

Capital-output ratio: the relationship between the size of the stock of productive equipment and the output level of an economy.

III. IN THE CLASSROOM

Before Showing the Film

Although no introductory material is required before showing the film, it may be desirable to precede it by some reference to the new worldwide concern over the course the developing nations may take. Their development is undoubtedly one of the most important problems which will confront the world in the latter part of this century. Yet the discrepancy between the income levels of the industrialized and the poor nations has been growing in spite of assistance from international organizations and certain rich nations for the underdeveloped countries. The students should watch for reasons in the film for this growing income differential.

"Film Viewers Guide"

1. What is the per capita income in some of the "underdeveloped country's?

2. List the six characteristics common to most underdeveloped countries which are outlined in the film.

Teaching the Key Ideas

A. Notes to the Teacher

An initial objective of classroom discussion of the problems of economic development is to help students get a "felling" of the conditions existing in the poor nations of the world, and of the tremendous difficulties which beset any attempt to speed up economic growth. Beyond that they need to see what furthers development. In this connection, some things often fail to receive sufficient attention. Emphasize strongly the necessity of investing in "human capital" in underdeveloped nations. Students may tend to underestimate the importance of economic development if a high level of literacy and education, which simply does not exist in poor countries. Also not to be underestimated is the importance of adequate provision of certain facilities needed by all sectors of the economy, including roads, railroads, communication services, sources of power, etc. Improved technology, usually involving more capital (such as more and better machinery, and power other than human and animal power) is also vital. Finally, the clutural changes necessary for economic development deserve attention in the classroom. Emphasis on the stresses within society during any period of change should be made as well as the human tendency to resist change in any social organization, even when they want things that require changes. Although the film discusses the capital-output ratio, we suggest that this be de-emphasized, for it gets into matters that might be hard to clarify for the class. It is also important for students to realize both the extent to which the West has inevitably helped produce the unrest in poor nations and affects their development through trade as well as aid. The"revolution of rising expectations" in the poor nations of the world is due both to the increased contact between the developed and underdeveloped nations and to the spread of the ideology with which the western world industrialized and gained spectacular increases in the standard of living of its people.

B. Sample Questions to Stimulate Discussion

1. What is meant by the "revolution of rising expectations" occurring in the underdeveloped nations? (The desire of the people of these countries to obtain as quickly as possible the higher standard of living they realize exists in the industrialized nations.

2. What examples from everyday life can you think of that indicate the severe limitations of using only physical labor in production? (Some are a a man and a shovel vs. a man and a caterpillar tractor, etc.) Why does the use of old or ancient methods of production in poor countries persist? (It is due to the lack of machines and skilled labor, the low cost of labor and high cost of capital equipment.)

3. What is the significance of international trade for the economic development of the poor nations? (Trade with foreign nations is usually much more important for the poor nations than for the rich ones. This can be seen in the ratio between the volume of exports of a nation for a year and the size of its GNP. In most cases, the underdeveloped nations have a much higher ratio than the developed nations. Two reasons can be given for this.

a. Because of the small markets within the poor nations, they can experience the advantages of specialization and mass production only by selling abroad. As Adam Smith noted almost two hundred years ago in his book, The Wealth of Nations, the extent of labor specialization is limited by the extent of the markets. For the large industrialized nations, the domestic markets are much larger so that trade is not as important in realizing the benefits of mass production.

b. Foreign trade also provides underdeveloped nations with their major source of foreign currencies, especially those of the industrialized nations. With this foreign exchange they can purchase the capital equipment so necessary to any type of economic development.

Given these factors plus the usual dependence upon one or two export products, it is obvious that the economies of underdeveloped nations are closely tied to foreign trade, and that any program of growth is heavily dependent upon maintenance and expansion of the country's exports.)

4. Why is an underdeveloped nation's economy quite vulnerable if dependent upon only one or two major exports instead of a wide variety of exports? (Fluctuations in the world price of the one or two exports can have a large impact on such an economy, and these nations have little control over the prices of their exports. Consequently the standard of living in such an economy can be severely affected by changes in the purchases of their one or two exports by their big customers in the industrialized West.

5. Why is the rate of capital formation less in underdeveloped countries than in developed countries? (It is because of a very low level of productivity in the underdeveloped nations, a very large percentage of total output must be devoted to the production of consumer goods to maintain even a subsistence standard of living for the people. This leaves a lower percentage of resources which can be channeled into capital goods' production than in the industrialized nations.)

6. Under what conditions can the level of a nation's income be rising while at the same time its per capita income be falling? (The rate of increase of income is less than the rate of increase of population.)

7. How can the investment in education in underdeveloped countries be compared to the investment in physical capital? (In both cases productive resources are used which could otherwise be used in the production of goods contributing to the current material well being of the people, and both education and physical capital goods will increase output in the future through increased productivity.)

8. What are the four factors outlined in the film which contribute to the inability of many underdeveloped nations to develop any effective plan for economic growth? (a. lack of interest by the government or rulers, b. foreign domination, c. lack of resources, d. separation from the mainstream of civilization) Outline briefly the manner in which each of these factors weaken or destroy any opportunity for economic development. (a. Government action is essential in creating an atmosphere and in providing the necessary services for economic development. These would include development of transportation and communication services, an educational system, a fair and well administered tax system, and political stability within the country. Without these minimal conditions, growth is unlikely. b. Foreign domination may result in few skilled labor or managerial positions being available to the natives, in restricted educational opportunities, and in political dependence upon the foreign nation. Each of these reduces the availability of productive factors necessary for economic development. c. The lack of important minerals, especially coal and iron which are important elements in industrialization, or the lack of sources of power for industry. d. Many of the new ideas, economic and other, arising in the mainstream of civilization do not infiltrate the isolated societies. These tend as a result to be dominated by tradition and oppose some of the changes necessary for progress.)

9. Now that poor nations have been the recipients of foreign aid from the U.S., and other rich nations, what has happened to the income differences between the industrialized and the underdeveloped countries? (They have continued to increase. A useful source of statistics and information regarding the various growth rates of underdeveloped nations receiving U.S. assistance can be found in the annual Economic Report of the President published by the U.S. Government's Printing Office in Whasington D.C.) How can this be explained? (Rich nations can invest more and hence grow faster; in the poor nations, population growth tends to affect the gains from growth.)

C. Sample Problems and Projects

1. In order that the students may get a better feeling of what it would be like to live in an underdeveloped nation, the following projects are useful.

   a. If it is possible to do so, invite an individual from an underdeveloped nation to speak to the students regarding the aspirations, problems, and success of his native country in the area of economic development. Of particular interest to most srudents is a comparison of the methods of production used in the U.S. and those used in the underdeveloped nation.

   b. Send the class to the library to get pictorial and descriptive material on life in various underdeveloped areas. Some of this,,with discussion of development projects is available in publication of private and public agencies engaged in helping people in such areas to better their lot. See, for example, "Loans at Work," published by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

2. To see the importance of capital and advanced technology, the following are suggested:

   a. Make a list on the blackboard of jobs common to the community. Indicate how literacy is a necessary prerequisite for most of these positions. Examine the limitations involved if each were filled by an illiterate individual.

   b. Take as an example a local manufacturing company and examine how its production might be carried out with very little capital equipment.

   c. Part of any development program includes plans for facilities required by industry but that are not part of the industry. This would include transportation and communication systems, sources of power, etc.; taken together, this is commonly called "overhead capital." To emphasize the importance of this to an industrial nation, list on the board the various types of capital upon which some local firm in the community depends. Include such things as streets, a certain level of education, railroads or highways, sources of power such as electricity, communication systems such as the telephone, etc. Explain the difficulty of operating a firm without these conveniences.

3. Several countries present very interesting examples of the problems and successes and failures of economic development in recent times. Have students read and report on some of these. (For example, Argentina, Japan, India, and Mexico. Information regarding them can be located through the Readers Guide.

4. Is the income distribution in this country more or less unequal than the distribution on a world-wide basis? (It is less unequal within this country. The film indicated that 70% of the world's population receives only 20% of the world's production while the upper 6% receives about 40% of the total output. In the U.S. in 1960, 70% of the people received about 42% of the income in this country while the upper 10% received about 25% of the total income.)

5. Have a committee of interested students collect pictures illustrating life in underdeveloped countries. ("Life" and other picture magazines are good sources.) These pictures could be displayed on the bulletin board, or shown to the class with an opaque projector. Be sure to explain whatever pictures are used.

6. Assign students interested in sociology or anthropology to investigate social, religious, or other customs which act to prevent economic progress in certain underdeveloped nations.

Testing for Economic Understanding

1. What is the importance of the "revolution of rising expectations" in underdeveloped nations? (It has focused attention on the dissatisfaction among the people of the underdeveloped nations with their very low standard of living, and on their efforts to raise it.)

2. What percentage of the world's population is found in underdeveloped nations with average per capita incomes of $200 a year or less? (2/3)

3. What is the significance, for economic development, of allocating resources to the production of "capital goods" or of "consumer goods?"

(Consumer goods produced now reduce output of consumer goods now, but increase the level of output, and hence the standard of living, in the future.)

4. Would one expect Germany to have a higher rate of capital formation than Pakistan? (Yes.) Why? (Germany has a higher standard of living; a higher percentage of the productive factors can be devoted to the production of capital goods.)

5. Since World War II, have the developed or the underdeveloped nations, on the average, had the higher growth rates? (The developed nations have.) Explain why. (The rate of capital formation is low in poor countries because they are too poor to save and invest much.)

6. In a recent year, the export of cotton from Egypt made up 16% of that nation's GNP. Among the U.S. exports, the largest single item was motor vehicles and was only .5% of our GNP. What is the significance of these figures with respect to the stability of the economies? (Changes in foreign demand for its prinicpal export will be much more important for Egypt than for the U.S. The standard of living in this Middle Eastern nation is thus much more vulnerable to conditions over which it has little control.) How can the position of Egypt affect its growth program? (Not only would a weakening foreign market for cotton lower its standard of living and its ability to save, thus tending to cause resources to move from capital goods production to consumer goods production, but the lower level of exports would probably mean less foreign exchange which that country needs to purchase some essential capital goods abroad.)

7. Between 1950 and 1962, Nicaragua experienced an annual rateeof growth of national income of 5.8% However, for the same period, the annual per capita rate of growth of income was actually -.8%. Was the standard of living in Nicaragua higher in 1950 or in 1962? (1950) What do these figures indicate about the rate of population increase in Nicaragua during this period? (It was greater than the 5.8% rate of increase in national income.)

8. In order to increase the rate of capital formation in an underdeveloped economy which is near full employment, why must the standard of living temporarily decrease? (Resources must be taken out of consumer goods' production and transferred to the production of capital goods.)

9. How does the lack of capital in underdeveloped nations limit the productivity of the workers? (Capital cooperates with labor in the production of goods and services. Given any amount of labor, the higher the level of capital with which it works, the higher the level of output. Thus capital increases the productivity of labor.)

10. How does illiteracy limit the potential productivity of workers in underdeveloped economies? (It limits theamount of capital which the workers can readily learn to use and thus requires the production process to be heavily dependent upon physical labor without the support of capital equipment.)

11. What essential elements of a program of economic development may be absent if the government takes no interest in the project? (At least certain parts of "overhead capital" like transportation systems, educational systems, and communication systems may be lacking or inadequate.)

12. Illustrate the importance of improved technology for economic development.

13. Write an essay on the mahor economic problems faced by underdeveloped countries and the lines along which solutions to these problems may be sought.

IV. REFERENCES:

A. High School Texts:
Smith: pp. 74-81, 397-401; Dodd, et al: Chap. 28; Robinson, et al: pp. 245-259; Goodman and Harriss: Chap. 32

B. From the Materials Evaluation Committee Report:
84, 156

C. Other Basic Texts and Supplementary Readings:
Bach: Chap. 44 to page 741; Harriss: Chap. 39 to page 824; McConnell: Chap. 39 to page 723; Samuelson: Chap. 38 to page 765

OREGON ASSOCIATION FOR SUPERVISION
AND CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT
Winter, 1963-64

(The following was used by Dr. Kimball Wiles, President, National ASCD, in his second talk at the winter meeting at Gearhart.)

THE STRANGE TOWN

"If in our imagination we might compress the total population of the world, now more than 2½ billion persons, into a community of 1000 persons living in a single town, the following picture of the contrast we would, then vividly see.

"Sixty persons would represent the United States population; the rest of the world would be represented by 940 persons. The 60 Americans would be receiving half of the total income of the entire community; the 940 other persons would share the remaining half.

"Of the Americans in the town, 36 would be members of the Christian churches; and 24 would not. In the town as a whole about 330 people would be classified as Christians and 670 would not be so classified. At least 80 people in the town would be believing communists and 379 others would be under communist domination.

"Classified as to skin color, 303 people would be white and 697 would be classified as colored. The 60 Americans would have an average life expectancy of 70 years; all other 940 would average under 40 years.

"The 60 Americans would posses 15½ times as much goods per person as all the rest of the people. On the average they would produce 16 percent of the town's total food supply, but would consume all but 1½ percent of that and keep most of it for their own use in expensive storage equipment. Since most of the 940 non-Americans in the community would always be hungry and never quite know when they would get enough to eat, the situation created by this disparity in food supply and in the existence of vast food reserves becomes readily apparent, particularly in view of the fact that Americans already eat 72 percent above maximum requirements.

"Of the community's total supply of electric power, the 60 Americans would have 12 times as much as all the rest; 22 times as much coal; 21 times as much oil and gasoline; 50 times as much steel, and 50 times as much in general equipment of all kinds. Of the 60 Americans, the lowest income groups would be better off than the average in much of the rest of the town......

"With the exception of perhaps 20 persons representing Western Europe and a few favored classes in other areas, like South America, South Africa and Australia, and a few wealthy Japanese, literally most of the non-American people in this imaginary compressed community would be ignorant, poor, hungry and sick. Half of them would be unable to read or write.

"Half of the people of this community would never have heard of Jesus Christ, or what he taught. On the other hand more than half would be hearing about Karl Marx, Nicolai Lenin, Joseph Stalin, Nikita Khruschev and other communist leaders."

NEWSPAPER READING WORKSHEET

1. (a) How many columns wide in a standard newspaper?

   (b) How does a tabloid paper differ from the standard paper?

2. What is the "format" of a newspaper?

3. Explain the meaning of typography.

4. What is meant by: (a) head-line

   (b) date-line

   (c) by-line

   (d) lead

5. What five questions should be answered in a good lead?

6. What determines the location of a news article?

7. What guides can help you determine which news articles are worth reading?

8. What is meant by objectivity in news writing?

9. In what respects should newspaper be compared and judged?

10. How does an editorial differ from a news article?

11. Where, in a paper, will you find editorials?

12. Bring in a news article and an editorial dealing with the same subject and point out their differences.

13. What is meant by a "column"?

14. Name several types of columns and bring in an example of each.

15. Why are columns by news commentators found on the editorial page?

16. What is a newspaper syndicate?

17. Name the most well-known syndicates.

18. What purposes do cartoons serve?

The following is from an imaginary speech delivered in Minneapolis by an imaginary candidate for president. Read the excerpts and then answer the questions which follow. This is not a complete speech, only excerpts. Omissions are indicated by (...).

"Friends of the Great Middle West, I am glad to be here tonight in a section of the country which has provided us with such able liberal leadership. As I passed through your neighboring state of Illinois on my way to Minneapolis, I found myself no more than 40 miles from the farm house in which I was born and in which I spent the early years of my life. I am glad to get back to home territory and to be able to talk with people who have been my neighbors in those happy years of my past ...

"And while I am here, I would like to put in a word for my good friend and Washington neighbor, Congressman Ole Anderson. All of you have, I know, heard and been proud of the remark by Morton C. Morbid, one of our leading political writers on the Washington Scene, that Senator Anderson is, and "I quote", probably one of the most intelligent and forward-looking men in Washington today" - end of quote. I hope that you will return Senator Anderson to office. The country is in dire need of outstanding men such as he has proved himself to be ....

"I have been asked repeatedly during this campaign whether or not I favor the St. Lawrence Waterway. My friends, anything which can be done to open up this great area to eastern trade must be done. I pledge to you my fullest support for this proposed seaway ....

"What can we do to protect our country from the foreign menace of Communism? Those who are suspected of being communists or fellow-travellers must be discharged from the government and from the schools and colleges. They must be ousted from our labor unions. They must be hunted out of factories and stores everywhere in our land. We cannot afford to shelter those who would destroy us and our way of life ....

"My opponent has charged me with evading issues. If you have listened to my speeches thus far in the campaign, you are well aware of the fact that I have answered questions honestly and forthrightly. It is a well-known fact, however, that my opponent has been conducting a campaign of half-truths and bald deception ....

"Prices have risen to an unheard-of-level. Your dollar has shrunk to the point where our living standards are lower than four years ago, though we are paid much more. My opponent talks glibly of ending inflation if he gets into office. But what have he and his party ever done to curb inflation? Nothing, absolutely nothing! His is the party of talk, talk, talk. Ours is the party that can and will act. Vote for us; your dollar will then be safe ....

"And can you imagine, my friends, this is the man who dares tell you that his party will prevent another depression. His is the party which, you might say, pioneered in the ways of bringing on and creating ever-better depressions. Let's look at the record. In 19__, when his party came to office, the United States was enjoying a prosperity such as it had never known before. You, the American people, were happy. You got good wages and you had plenty to eat and wear, good housing, and enough money left over for the luxuries of life which make it so worthwhile. But, my friends, what did that party -- my opponent's party, do? It led us into the worst depression the world has ever seen. You remember the breadlines, the bank failures, the old men and women digging through the garbage dumps for a scrap of rotting food. Do you want that party, the depression party, to come to power again? There can be only one answer ....

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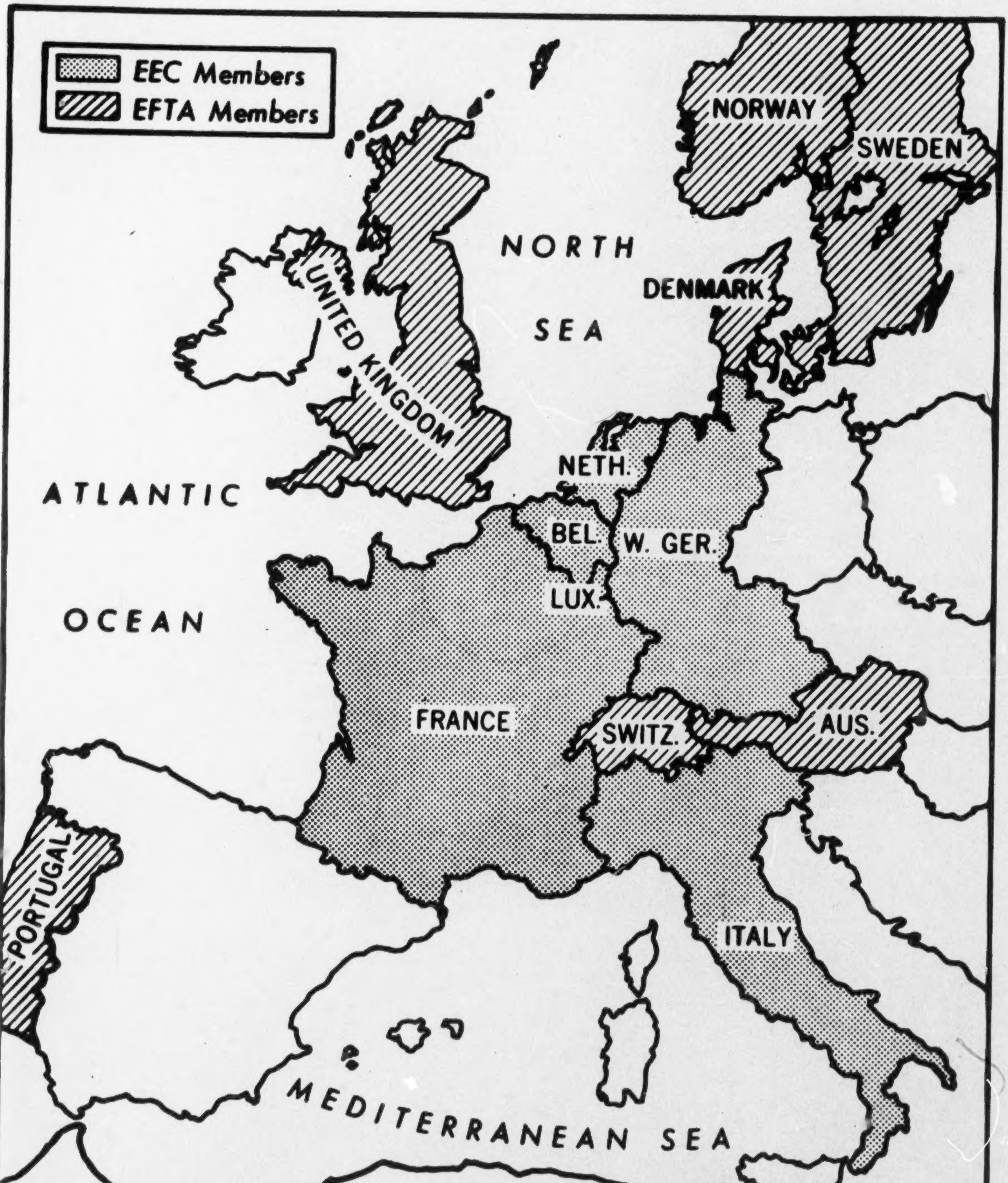
GROWTH OF EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY
(Common Market)

	1958	*1965*
POPULATION	168,672,000	198,148,000
GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT	$165 billion	$297.5 billion
TOTAL EXPORTS	$22.8 billion	$47.9 billion
Exports to EEC Members	$6.9 billion	$18.4 billion
TOTAL IMPORTS	$22.9 billion	$49 billion
Imports from EEC Members	$6.8 billion	$18 billion
INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION	100 (1958 = base)	158

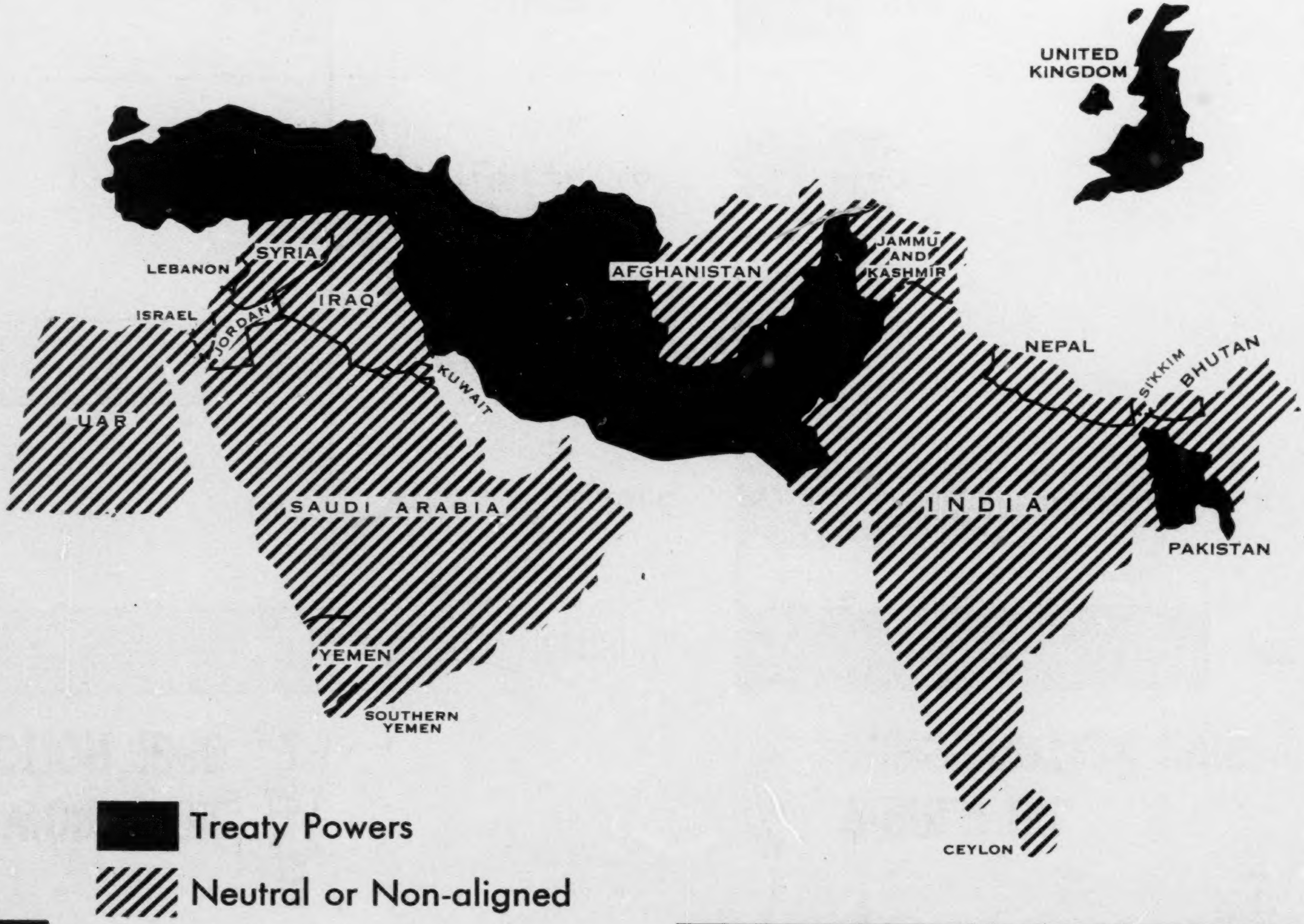
VISUAL 7


▩ EEC Members
▨ EFTA Members
NORWAY
SWEDEN
NORTH SEA
DENMARK
UNITED KINGDOM
NETH.
BEL.
W. GER.
LUX.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
FRANCE
SWITZ.
AUS.
PORTUGAL
ITALY
MEDITERRANEAN SEA

VISUAL 6

CENTO

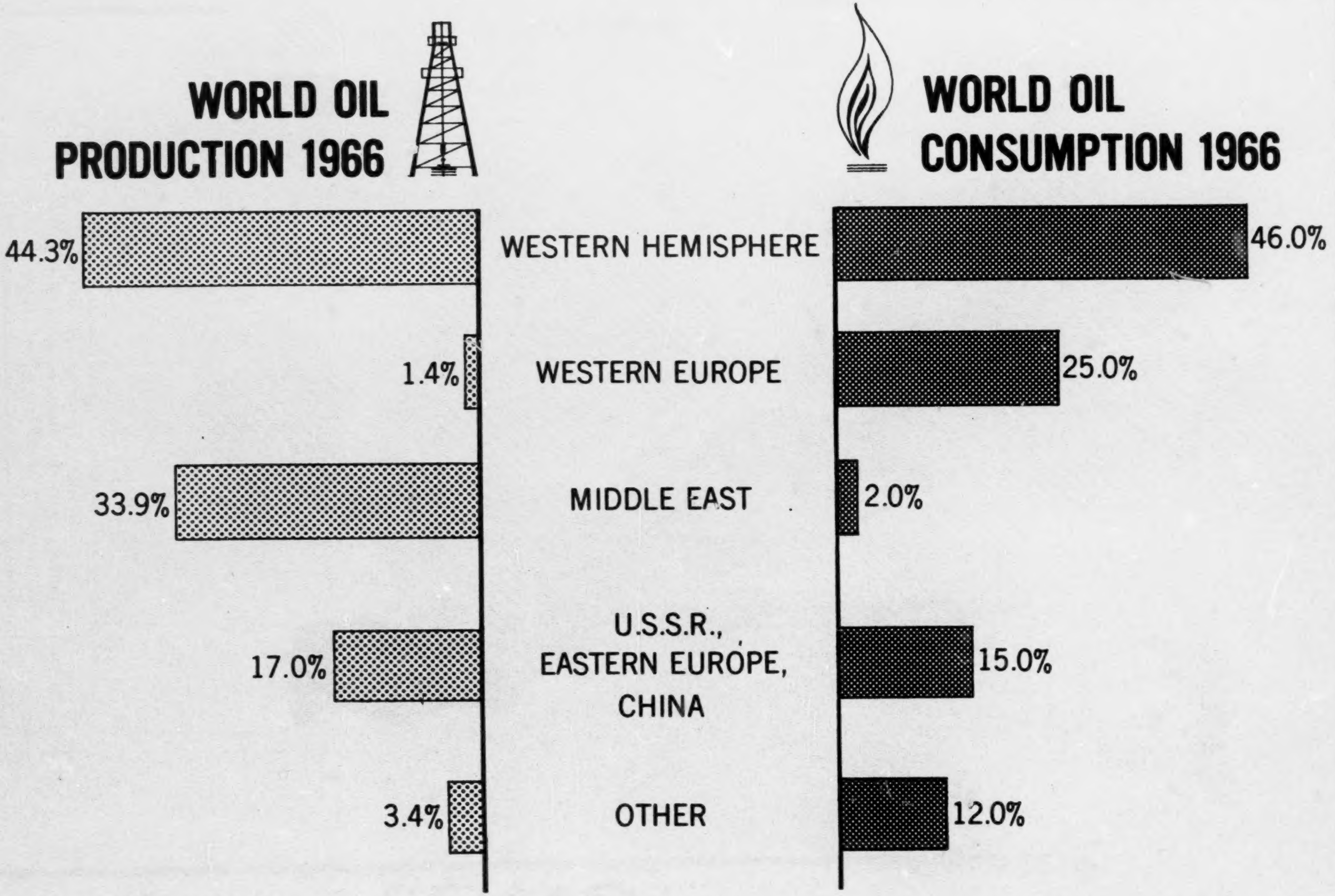
August 1959


UNITED KINGDOM
LEBANON
SYRIA
ISRAEL
JORDAN
IRAQ
KUWAIT
UAR
SAUDI ARABIA
YEMEN
SOUTHERN YEMEN
AFGHANISTAN
JAMMU AND KASHMIR
NEPAL
SIKKIM
BHUTAN
INDIA
PAKISTAN
CEYLON
Treaty Powers
Neutral or Non-aligned

BOUNDARY REPRESENTATION IS NOT NECESSARILY AUTHORITATIVE

59735 9-68

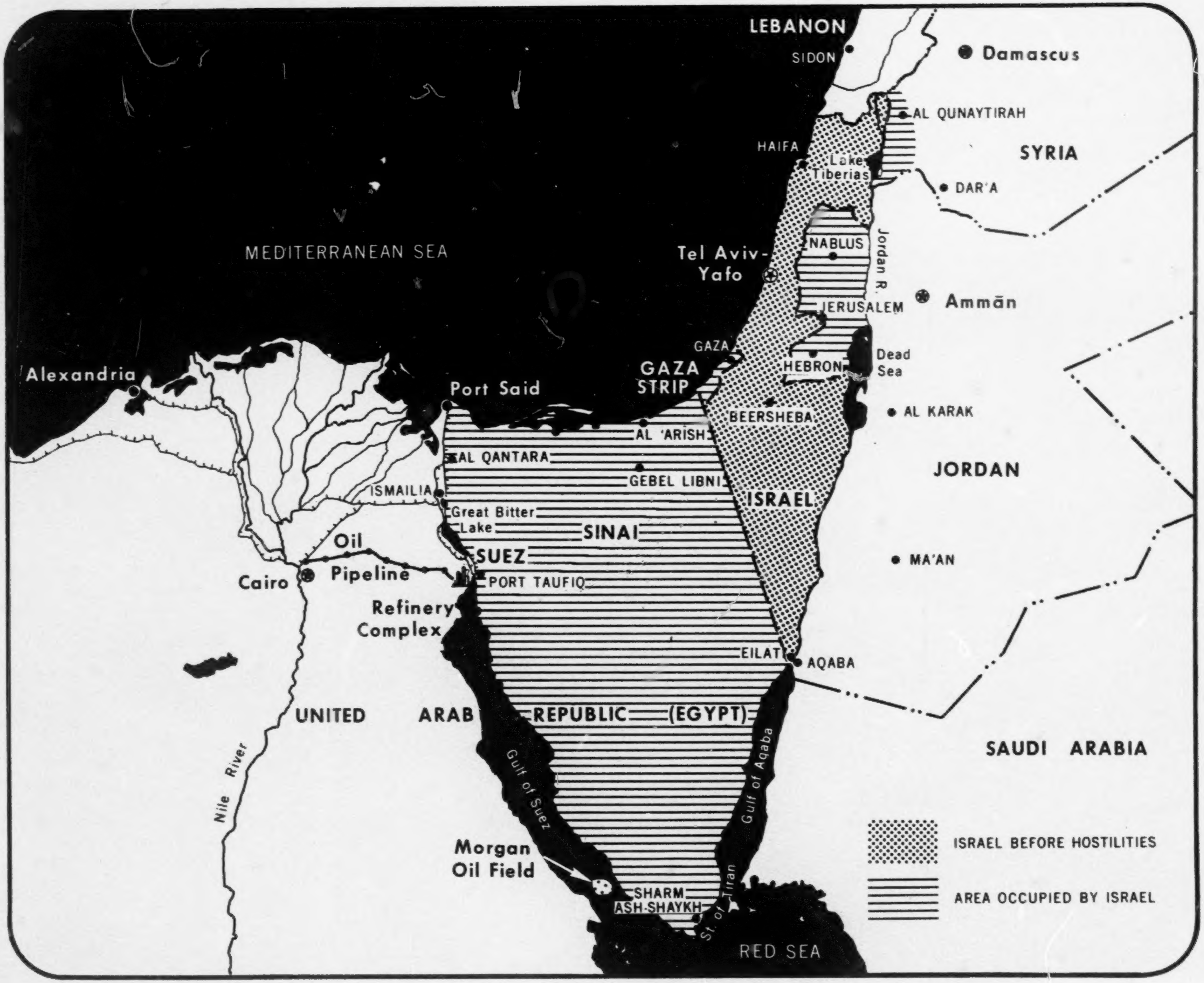
Substitute for map, page 2, International Organization Series No. 1, the Central Treaty Organization.



WORLD OIL PRODUCTION 1966

WORLD OIL CONSUMPTION 1966

☆ GPO : 1968 O - 345-214 (68)


LEBANON
SIDON
Damascus
HAIFA
AL QUNAYTIRAH
SYRIA
Lake Tiberias
DAR'A
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Tel Aviv-Yafo
NABLUS
Jordan R.
JERUSALEM
Ammān
GAZA
GAZA STRIP
HEBRON
Dead Sea
Alexandria
Port Said
BEERSHEBA
AL KARAK
AL 'ARISH
AL QANTARA
GEBEL LIBNI
JORDAN
ISMAILIA
ISRAEL
Great Bitter Lake
SINAI
Oil
SUEZ
MA'AN
Cairo
Pipeline
PORT TAUFIQ
Refinery Complex
EILAT
AQABA
UNITED
ARAB
REPUBLIC
(EGYPT)
SAUDI ARABIA
Nile River
Gulf of Suez
Gulf of Aqaba
Morgan Oil Field
SHARM ASH-SHAYKH
St. of Tiran
RED SEA
ISRAEL BEFORE HOSTILITIES
AREA OCCUPIED BY ISRAEL

MIDDLE EAST

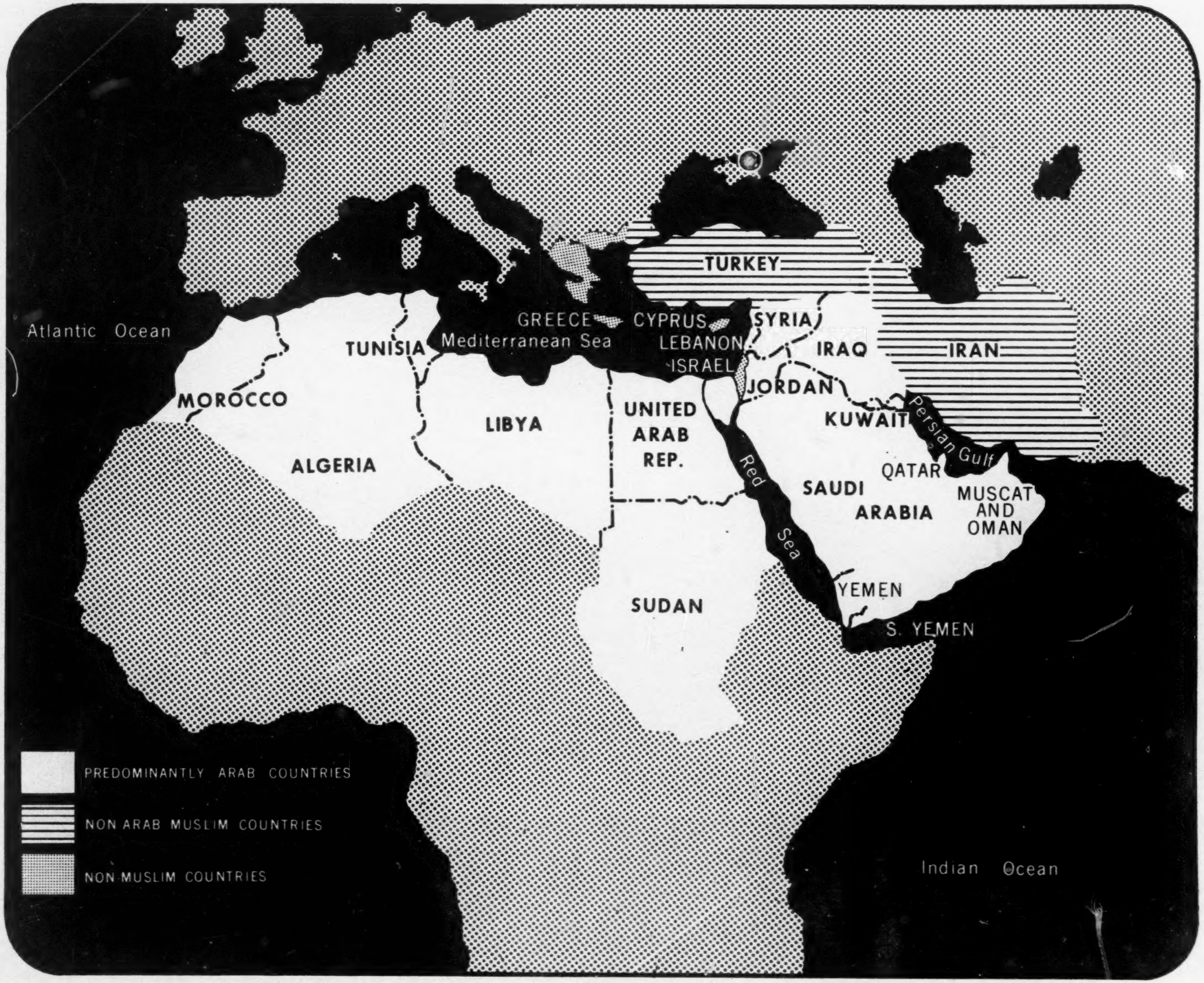
	LAND			PEOPLE				ECONOMY			GOVERNMENT		U.S. ASSISTANCE	
,	Total sq. mi. (000)	Culti-vated (per-cent)	Pasture (per-cent)	Popula-tion, 1966 (000)	Lit-eracy (per-cent)	Religion % Muslim	Ethnic	1966 GNP (billions)	Per capita GNP	Main source of revenue	Type	Status of Communist Party	Economic aid 1946-66 (millions)	1967** (mil-lions)
I. ISLAMIC—ARAB														
Algeria	920	3	16	12,200	15	98	Ar.-Berber	$1.9	$156	Oil	1-party repub.	Illegal	$179.4	$21.6
Bahrain	.230	*	*	185	15	100	Arab	.03	162	Oil	Sheikhdom	*	0	0
Iraq	172	18	26	8,300	22	90	77% Arab	2.0	240	Oil	Nom'l repub.	Illegal	56.1	3.3
Jordan	37	12	*	2,000	10	93	97% Arab†	.5	250	Agr.-min.	Constitutional Monarchy	Illegal	517.2	44.3
Kuwait	6	*	*	500	49	98	85% Arab; 15% Kurd	1.6	3,200	Oil	Sheikhdom	*	0	50.0
Lebanon ‡	4	27	*	2,600	86	50	93% Arab	1.25	481	Agr.-tour.	Republic	Illegal	79.2	1.6
Libya	661	6	*	1,700	35	97	97% Arab	1.1	645	Oil	Constitutional Monarchy	Illegal	207.5	1.0
Morocco	187	19	19	13,700	15	97	97% Ar.-Berber	2.5	182	Agr.-min.	Constitutional Monarchy	Illegal	546.8	44.3
Muscat and Oman	82	*	*	600	low	100	Arab	Unknown	Unknown	Agr.	Sultanate	*	0	0
Qatar	4	*	*	60	low	100	Arab	.05	833	Oil	Sheikhdom	*	0	0
Saudi Arabia	618	1	*	4,400	10	100	Arab	1.6	364	Oil	Absolute Monarchy	*	47.4	0
Sudan	967	3	15	13,900	10	73	39% Arab; 48% Negroes	1.5	108	Cotton	Republic	Active	107.8	20.4
Syria	72	38	41	5,500	40	87	90% Arab; 9% Kurd	1.1	200	Agr.	Nom'l repub.	Illegal	73.2	6.9
Trucial States	32	*	*	117	low	100	Arab	Unknown	Unknown	Oil	Sheikhdom	*	0	0
Tunisia	63	28	28	4,500	30	98	Arab	0.9	200	Agr.-min.	Republic	Small	468.1	54.9
United Arab Republic	386	3	*	30,400	40	90	90% Hamitic	5.0	164	Agr.	Nom'l repub.	Illegal	1,133.3	11.9
Yemen	75	20	*	4,100	15	100	90% Arab	.5	120	Agr.	Revolutionary republic	Illegal	41.8	2.1
Yemen, Southern.	110	32	*	1,275	10	100	Arab	.26	204	Agr.-trade	Nominal republic	*	0	0
TOTALS	4,626			106,037				21.79					$3,457.8	262.3
AVERAGE		18			26				$205					
II. ISLAMIC—NON-ARAB														
Iran	636	11	Agr.	25,400	20	100	72% Iran.; 22% Turk.	6.4	252	Oil	Constitutional monarchy	Illegal	856.8	108.8
Turkey	296	22	49	31,900	55	98	90% Turk.; 7% Kurd	9.4	296	Agr.	Republic	Illegal	2,277.7	151.9
						% non-Muslim								
III. NON-ISLAMIC														
Cyprus	3.6	47	10	600	80	Christian, 82	78% Greek; 18% Turk.	.44	730	Agr.-min.	Constitutional republic	Active	19.3	1.1
Greece	52	30	39	8,600	82	Greek Ortho-dox, 97	96% Greek; 2% Turk.	6.6	767	Varied	Constitutional monarchy	Illegal	1,895.1	1.7
Israel	8	19	34	2,600	88	Jewish, 90	90% Jews; 9% Arab	3.8	1,454	Varied	Republic	Legal, small	1,076.9	12.2

*Insignificant.

**Figures on 1967 U.S. economic aid are not in all cases additive to net figures for prior years, since deobligations in 1967 of prior year commitments have been omitted.

†60% of Jordan's Arabs are Palestinians.

‡ Although Lebanon's population is 93% ethnic Arab, it is roughly half Christian and half Muslim.


Atlantic Ocean
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
TUNISIA
LIBYA
Mediterranean Sea
GREECE
CYPRUS
LEBANON
ISRAEL
TURKEY
SYRIA
IRAQ
IRAN
JORDAN
KUWAIT
Persian Gulf
QATAR
SAUDI ARABIA
MUSCAT AND OMAN
UNITED ARAB REP.
Red Sea
YEMEN
S. YEMEN
SUDAN
Indian Ocean
PREDOMINANTLY ARAB COUNTRIES
NON ARAB MUSLIM COUNTRIES
NON MUSLIM COUNTRIES

MAKING UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY

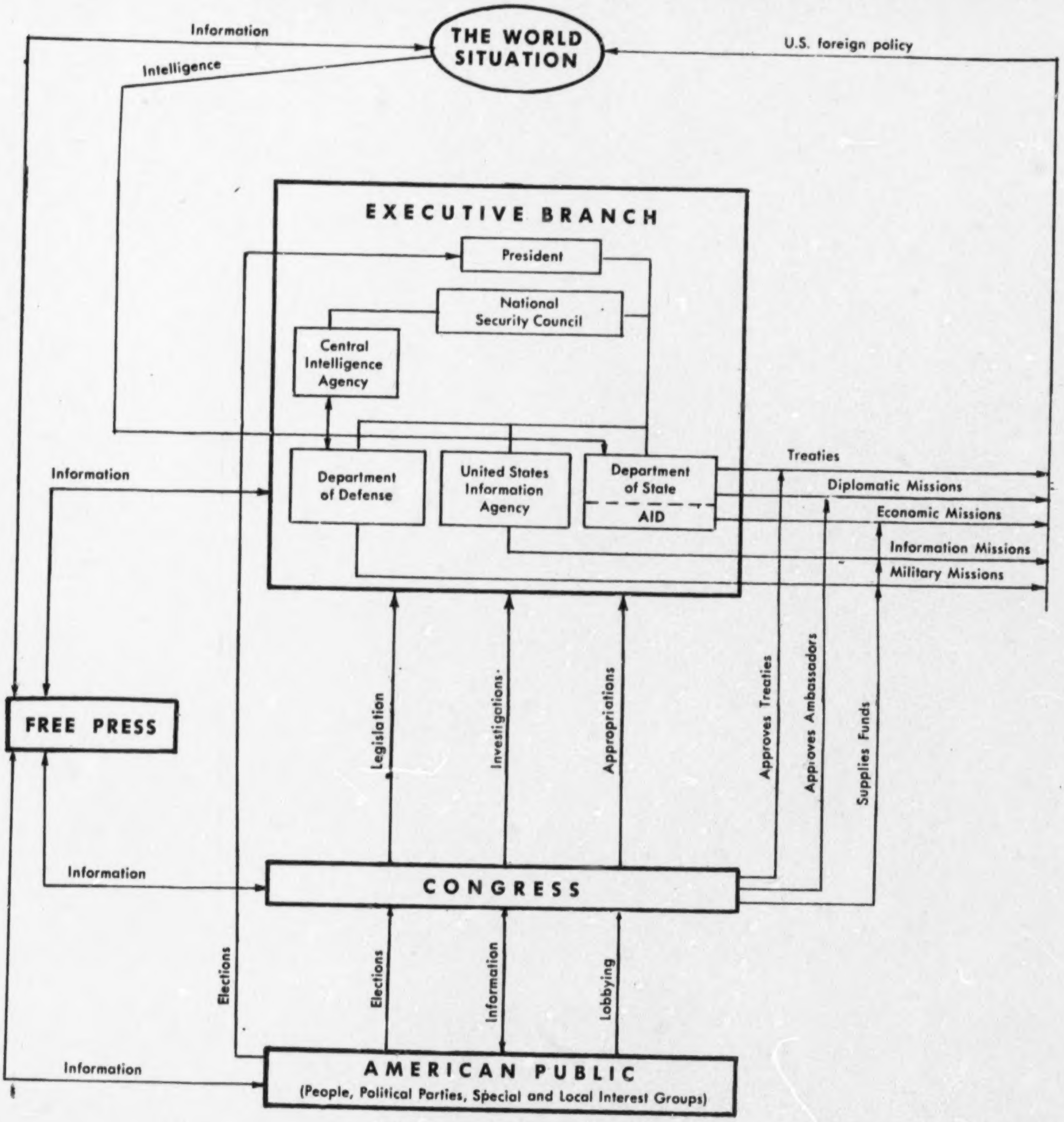

Information
Intelligence
THE WORLD SITUATION
U.S. foreign policy
EXECUTIVE BRANCH
President
National Security Council
Central Intelligence Agency
Department of Defense
United States Information Agency
Department of State
AID
Information
Treaties
Diplomatic Missions
Economic Missions
Information Missions
Military Missions
FREE PRESS
Legislation
Investigations
Appropriations
Approves Treaties
Approves Ambassadors
Supplies Funds
Information
CONGRESS
Elections
Elections
Information
Lobbying
Information
AMERICAN PUBLIC
(People, Political Parties, Special and Local Interest Groups)

Table 1

PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF PURPOSE OF EARTH SATELLITE[a]
(before and after Sputnik)

Satellite Purpose	Before Sputnik	After Sputnik
Relatively Informed		
1. Scientific detailed information "Finding out weather and atmospheric conditions"	12%	11%
2. Scientific general information "To find out more about outer space"	8	16
3. Competition with the Russians "To see who can get to the moon first--us or Russia"	1	20
4. Future possibilities "Getting ready for space travel in the future"	--	17
Total Relatively Informed	21%	64%
Relatively Uninformed		
5. Misinformation "To protect us from invasion from outer space"	11	4
6. Don't know "I've heard something but I can't remember what it was"	14	23
7. Heard nothing "Nope"	54	8
8. Not ascertained	*	1
TOTAL	100%	100%

---

[a] Examples of each type of response given in quotes below each category heading are from McLeod and Swinehart, 1960.

*Less than 1/2 percent.

Figure 2: Combinations of background factors for each of the six groups within the United States population showing large differences in information scores about the Far East. Percentage of population estimates are based on the same Survey Research Center data as are the average information scores. Maximum information score = 4.

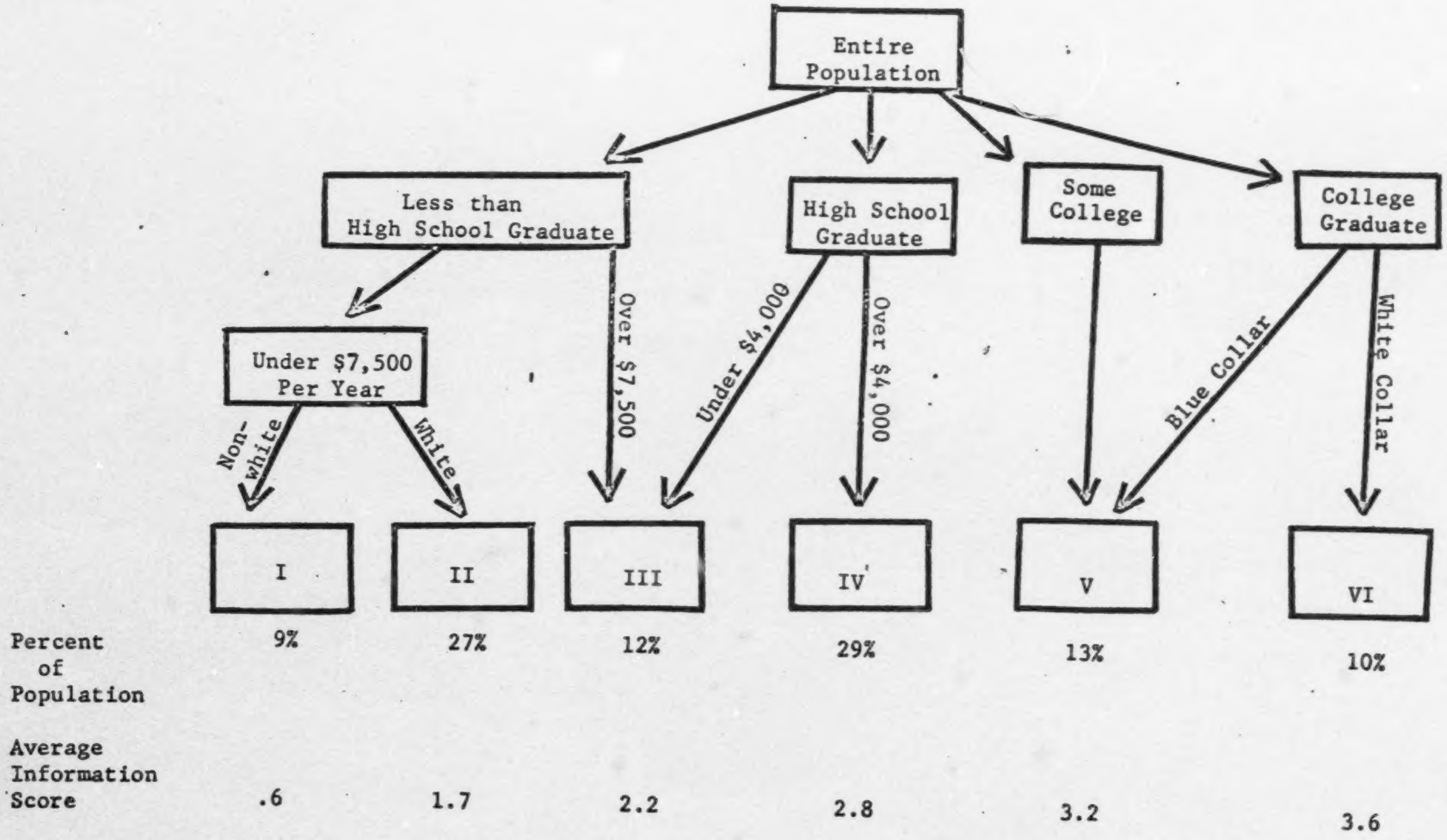

Entire Population
Less than High School Graduate
High School Graduate
Some College
College Graduate
Under $7,500 Per Year
Non-white
White
Over $7,500
Under $4,000
Over $4,000
Blue Collar
White Collar
I
II
III
IV
V
VI
Percent of Population
9%
27%
12%
29%
13%
10%
Average Information Score
.6
1.7
2.2
2.8
3.2
3.6

Table 2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INFORMATION ITEMS ABOUT THE FAR EAST (SPRING 1964) FOR EACH SOCIAL GROUP IDENTIFIED IN FIGURE 2 (PATCHEN 1964)

(MEDIAN NUMBER OF ITEMS ANSWERED CORRECTLY UNDERLINED FOR EACH GROUP)

Group	% National Population	Number of Items Answered Correctly 0	1	2	3	4	TOTAL
I	(9)	66%	20	8	4	2	100%
II	(27)	30%	21	16	15	18	100%
III	(12)	16%	18	22	19	25	100%
IV	(29)	6%	12	21	23	38	100%
V	(13)	1%	5	19	19	56	100%
VI	(10)	0%	5	4	15	76	100%
VIa*	(1/3-1)	0%	0	0	5	95	100%
Total Sampling 100%		18%	14	16	17	35	100%

N = 1,429

*Activist group, estimates based on Hero (1959, I, see text).

Table 9

FREQUENCY OF WORLD-AFFAIRS DISCUSSION WITH FRIENDS, FAMILY OR OTHER ACQUAINTANCES, 1964 DETROIT AREA STUDY DATA

(Median within each group underlined)

	Group*		More Than Twice a Week	Once or Twice a Week	Once or Twice a Month	Less Often	Never	Not Ascer-tained	Total
Low Status	I	(10%)	9%	35	15	22	18	1	100%
	II	(26%)	22%	33	19	13	13	-	100%
	III	(14%)	20%	33	27	8	12	-	100%
	IV	(26%)	33%	44	17	5	1	-	100%
	V	(16%)	36%	51	10	1	2	-	100%
High Status	VI	(8%)	44%	45	7	2	2	-	100%
		(100%)	27%	40%	17%	8%	8%	-	100%

N = 557

*See Figure 1 for description of each social group.

Figure 4

A TYPOLOGY OF SIXTEEN BASIC KINDS OF OPINION-MAKERS*

	national multi-issue opinion-makers	national single-issue opinion makers	local multi-issue opinion makers	local single-issue opinion makers
Governmental Opinion-makers	A United States Senator	The Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs	A mayor of a city	The chief customs officer of a port city
Associational Opinion-makers	The national commander of the American Legion	The president of the Asia Foundation	The commander of a city's American Legion Post	The head of a county's refugee organization
Institutional Opinion-makers	The chairman of the board of the General Motors Corp.	The head of a missile manufacturing company	The president of a city's leading bank	A partner in a coffee-importing firm
Individual Opinion-makers	A syndicated columnist	The nation's leading demographer	A prominent author in the community	A Professor of Asiatic Affairs at a nearby college

---

*Source: Rosenau, 1963.

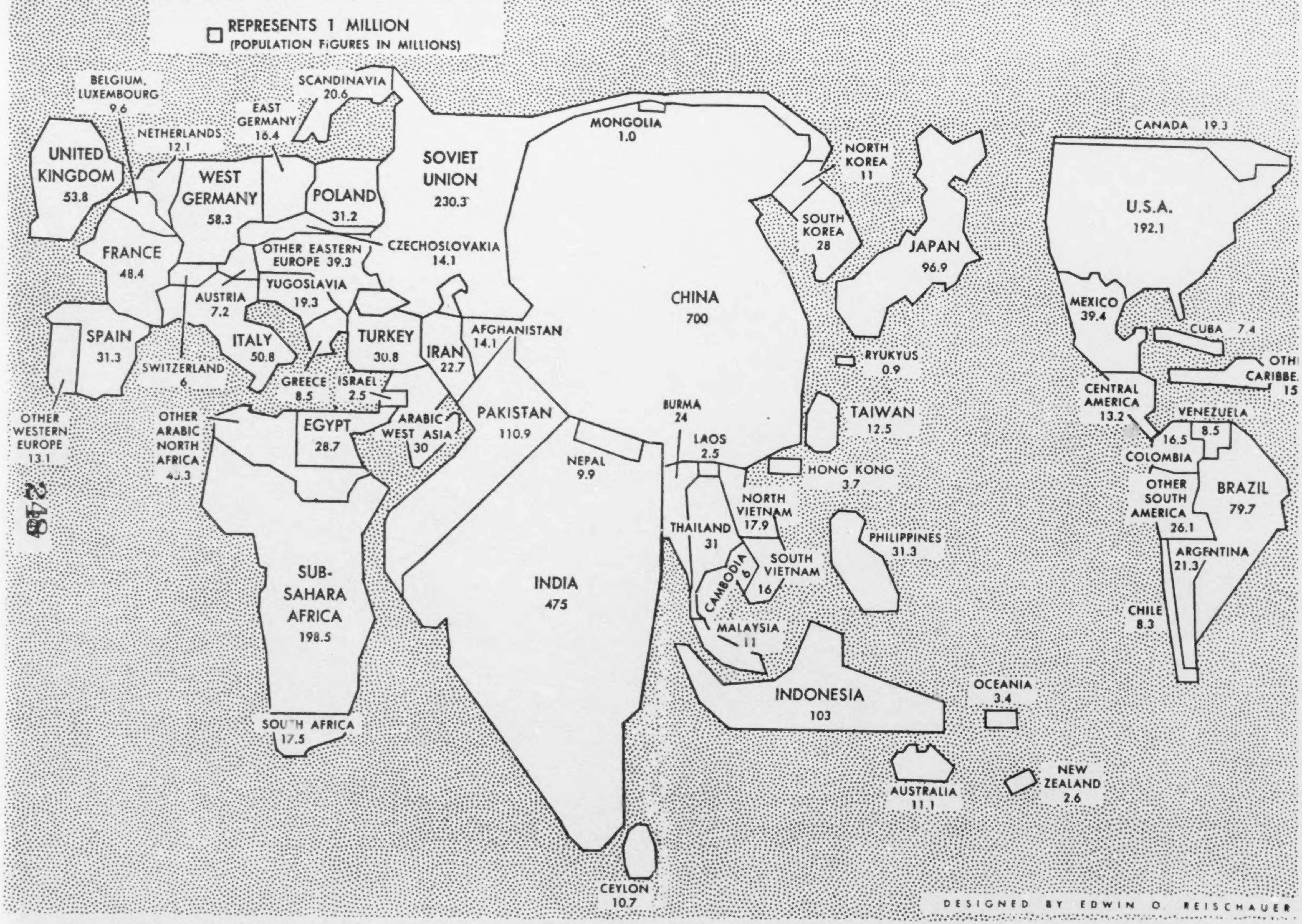
Appendix A

MAGAZINES CIRCULATION FIGURES AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL U.S. HOUSEHOLDS (1964)

Analytic Commentary Magazines	1964* Circulation (in thousands)	Percent of Households	Percent of Increase Over 1958 Circulation
New Yorker	468	(0.8%)	11%
Saturday Review	339	(0.6%)	101%
Atlantic	278	(0.5%)	15%
Harpers	274	(0.5%)	49%
Reporter	174	(0.3%)	43%
New Republic, National Review, Foreign Affairs, National Guardian, Commentary, Commonweal	30 to 80	(0.1%)	-21 to 167%
News and Business Magazines			
Time	2,904	(5.2%)	34%
Newsweek	1,600	(2.9%)	42%
U.S. News and World Report	1,282	(2.3%)	39%
Business Week	412	(0.7%)	36%
Fortune	383	(0.7%)	30%
Pictorial and General Interest Magazines			
Look	7,470	(13.5%)	33%
Life	7,156	(12.9%)	22%
Saturday Evening Post	6,589	(11.9%)	27%
Other Relevant Magazines (not included in this study)			
Readers Digest	14,523	(26.2%)	26%
National Geographic	3,497	(6.3%)	56%
Holiday	938	(1.7%)	2%
This Week	14,568	(26.2%)	25%
Parade	11,425	(20.6%)	56%
New York Times (1961)	1,293	(2.3%)	
National Observer	188	(0.3%)	

*N. W. Ayers and sons, Directory: Newspapers and Periodicals, 1958, 1964.

POPULATION



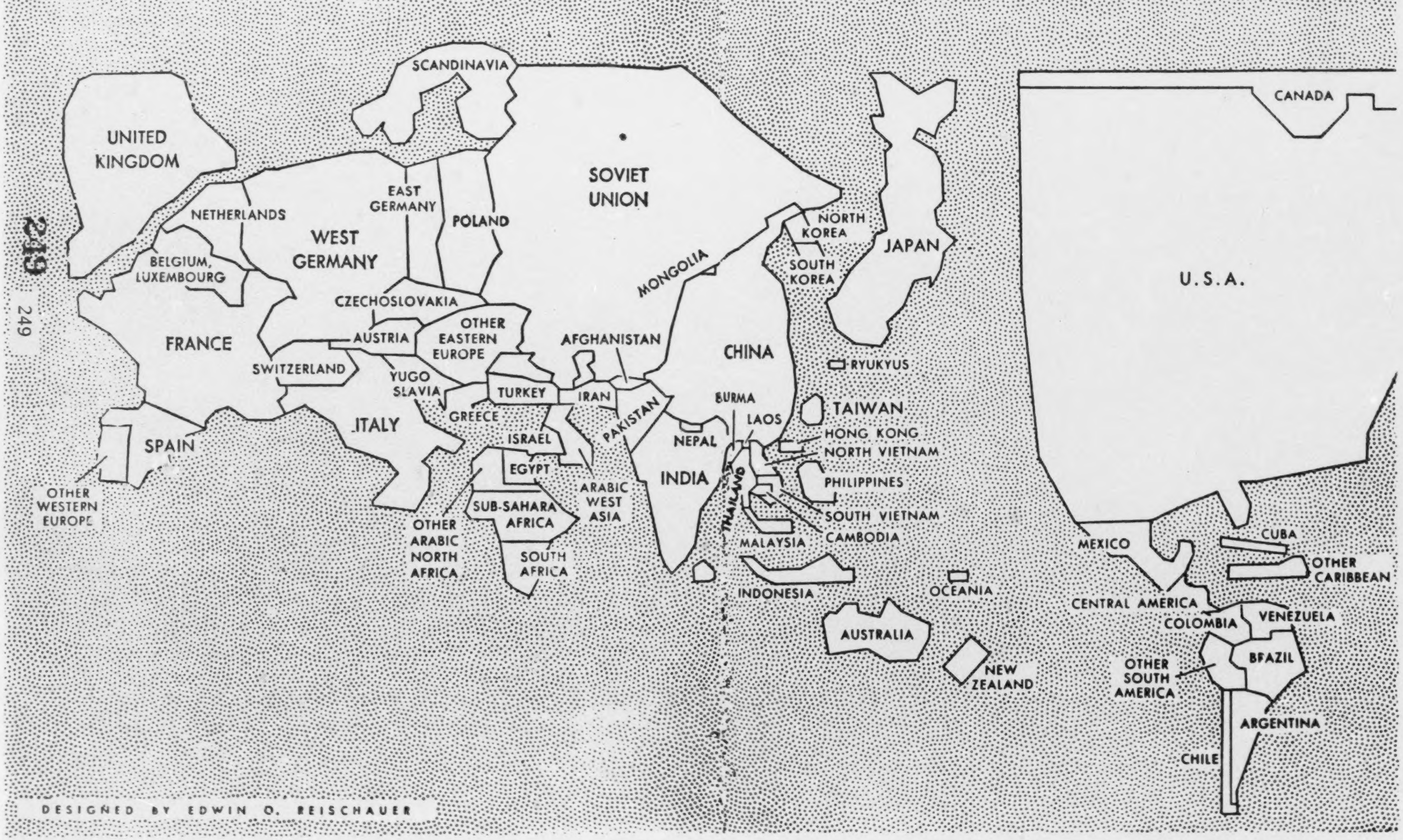
□ REPRESENTS 1 MILLION
(POPULATION FIGURES IN MILLIONS)
BELGIUM, LUXEMBOURG 9.6
NETHERLANDS 12.1
UNITED KINGDOM 53.8
EAST GERMANY 16.4
SCANDINAVIA 20.6
WEST GERMANY 58.3
POLAND 31.2
SOVIET UNION 230.3
FRANCE 48.4
OTHER EASTERN EUROPE 39.3
CZECHOSLOVAKIA 14.1
AUSTRIA 7.2
YUGOSLAVIA 19.3
SPAIN 31.3
SWITZERLAND 6
ITALY 50.8
GREECE 8.5
ISRAEL 2.5
TURKEY 30.8
IRAN 22.7
AFGHANISTAN 14.1
OTHER WESTERN EUROPE 13.1
OTHER ARABIC NORTH AFRICA 43.3
EGYPT 28.7
ARABIC WEST ASIA 30
PAKISTAN 110.9
NEPAL 9.9
INDIA 475
CEYLON 10.7
SUB-SAHARA AFRICA 198.5
SOUTH AFRICA 17.5
MONGOLIA 1.0
CHINA 700
BURMA 24
LAOS 2.5
THAILAND 31
NORTH VIETNAM 17.9
SOUTH VIETNAM 16
CAMBODIA 6
MALAYSIA 11
INDONESIA 103
NORTH KOREA 11
SOUTH KOREA 28
JAPAN 96.9
RYUKYUS 0.9
TAIWAN 12.5
HONG KONG 3.7
PHILIPPINES 31.3
OCEANIA 3.4
AUSTRALIA 11.1
NEW ZEALAND 2.6
CANADA 19.3
U.S.A. 192.1
MEXICO 39.4
CUBA 7.4
OTH CARIBBE. 15
CENTRAL AMERICA 13.2
VENEZUELA 8.5
COLOMBIA 16.5
BRAZIL 79.7
OTHER SOUTH AMERICA 26.1
ARGENTINA 21.3
CHILE 8.3
DESIGNED BY EDWIN O. REISCHAUER

From BEYOND VIETNAM: The United States and Asia, by Edwin O. Reischauer. Reprinted by Permission of the Author.

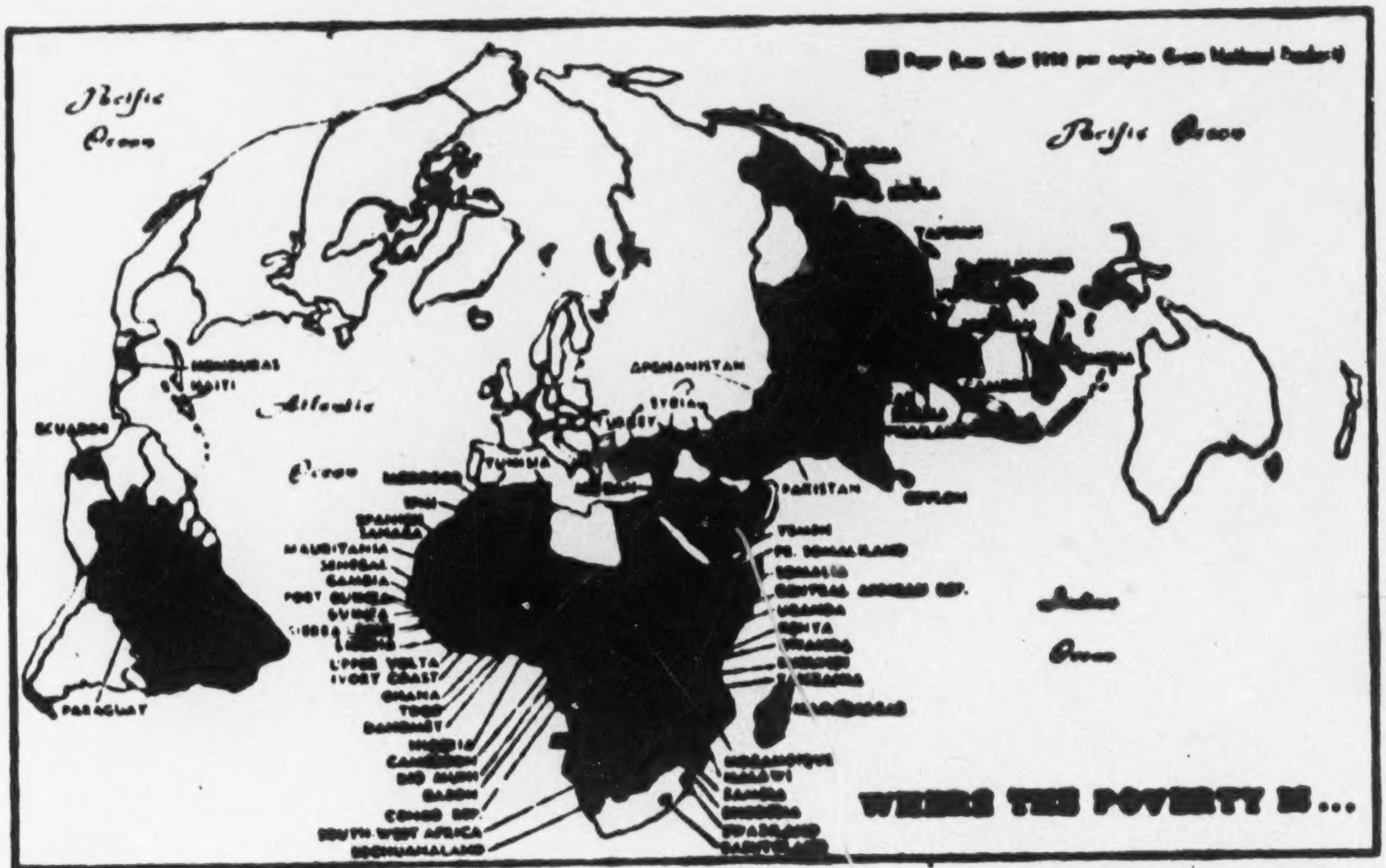
403--15¢ each

GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT

☐ REPRESENTS U.S. $1 BILLION

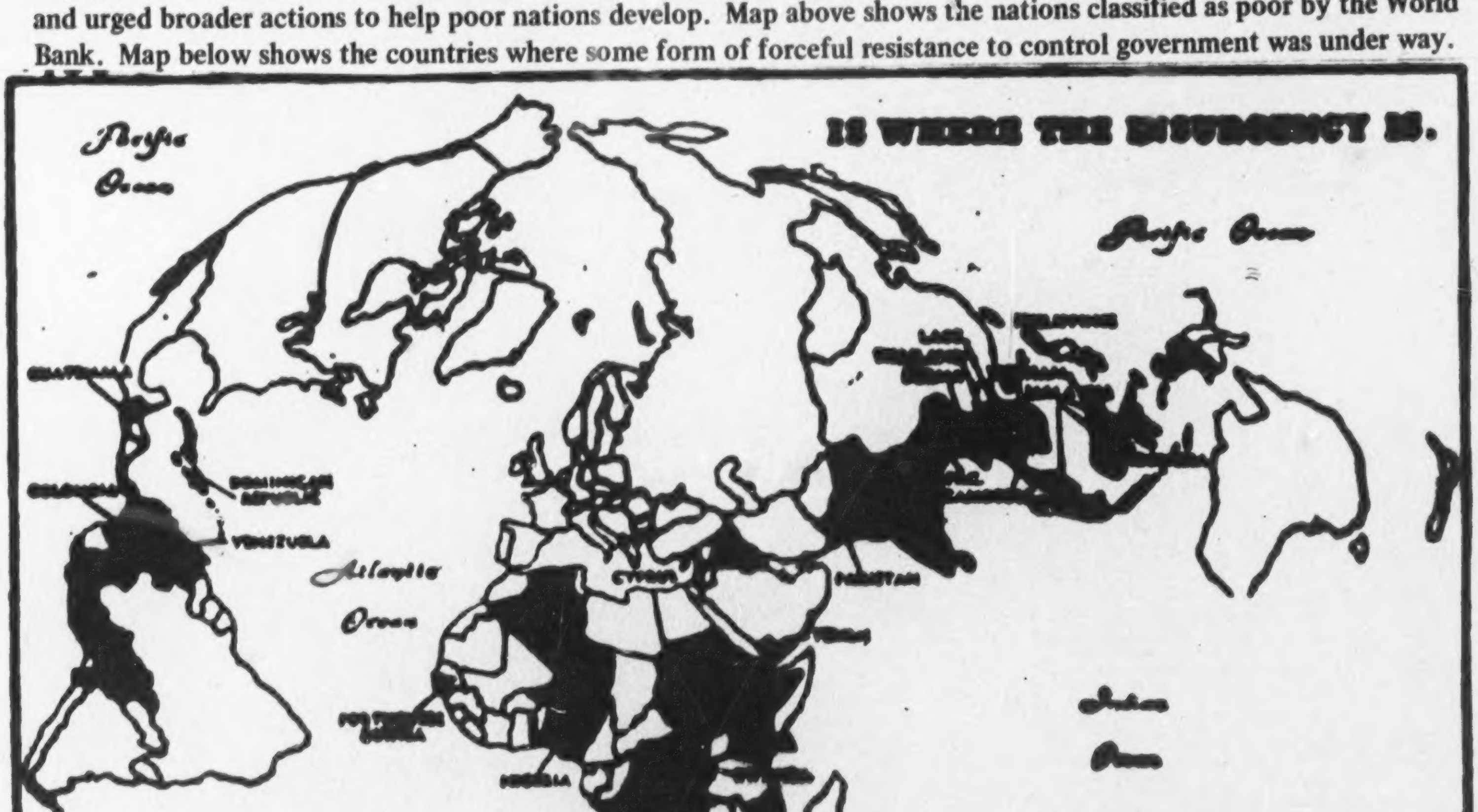

UNITED KINGDOM
SCANDINAVIA
NETHERLANDS
BELGIUM, LUXEMBOURG
FRANCE
WEST GERMANY
EAST GERMANY
POLAND
SOVIET UNION
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
AUSTRIA
OTHER EASTERN EUROPE
SWITZERLAND
YUGO SLAVIA
TURKEY
GREECE
ITALY
SPAIN
OTHER WESTERN EUROPE
OTHER ARABIC NORTH AFRICA
ISRAEL
EGYPT
SUB-SAHARA AFRICA
SOUTH AFRICA
ARABIC WEST ASIA
IRAN
AFGHANISTAN
PAKISTAN
MONGOLIA
NEPAL
INDIA
CHINA
BURMA
LAOS
THAILAND
MALAYSIA
INDONESIA
NORTH KOREA
SOUTH KOREA
JAPAN
RYUKYUS
TAIWAN
HONG KONG
NORTH VIETNAM
PHILIPPINES
SOUTH VIETNAM
CAMBODIA
OCEANIA
AUSTRALIA
NEW ZEALAND
CANADA
U.S.A.
MEXICO
CUBA
OTHER CARIBBEAN
CENTRAL AMERICA
COLOMBIA
VENEZUELA
OTHER SOUTH AMERICA
BRAZIL
ARGENTINA
CHILE

DESIGNED BY EDWIN O. REISCHAUER

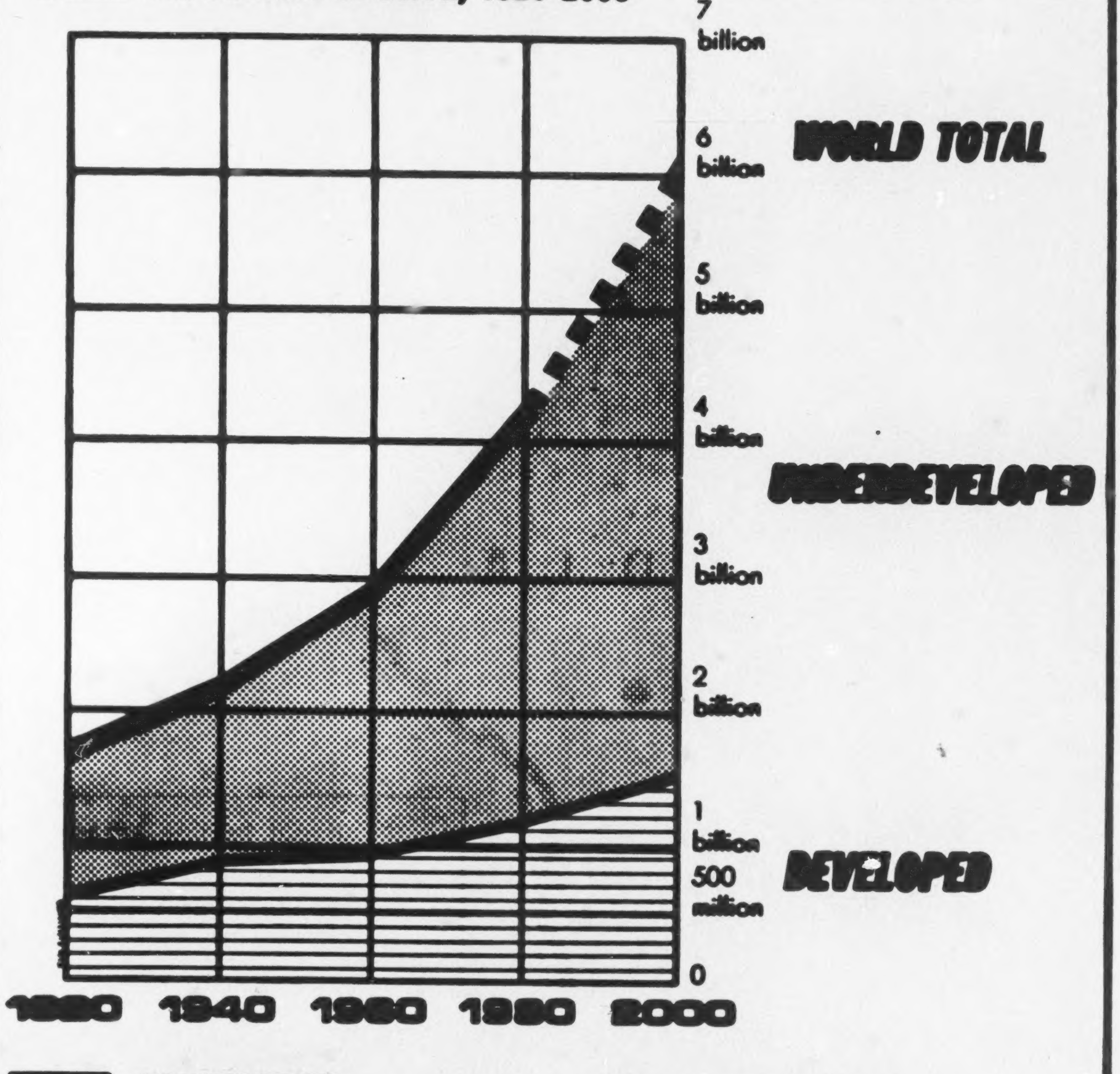

Pacific Ocean
Pacific Ocean
WHERE THE POVERTY IS...
HONDURAS
HAITI
ECUADOR
Atlantic Ocean
PARAGUAY
AFGHANISTAN
SYRIA
TURKEY
TUNISIA
MOROCCO
IFNI
SPANISH SAHARA
MAURITANIA
SENEGAL
GAMBIA
PORT GUINEA
GUINEA
SIERRA LEONE
UPPER VOLTA
IVORY COAST
GHANA
TOGO
DAHOMEY
NIGERIA
CAMEROON
RIO MUNI
GABON
CONGO REP.
SOUTH WEST AFRICA
BECHUANALAND
PAKISTAN
CEYLON
TAIWAN
YEMEN
FR. SOMALILAND
SOMALIA
CENTRAL AFRICAN REP.
UGANDA
KENYA
TANZANIA
MOZAMBIQUE
MALAWI
ZAMBIA
RHODESIA
SWAZILAND
BASUTOLAND
Indian Ocean

1967

In a speech last week Defense Secretary McNamara identified poverty as the basic cause of violence around the world and urged broader actions to help poor nations develop. Map above shows the nations classified as poor by the World Bank. Map below shows the countries where some form of forceful resistance to control government was under way.


IS WHERE THE INSURGENCY IS.
Pacific Ocean
Pacific Ocean
GUATEMALA
COLOMBIA
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
VENEZUELA
Atlantic Ocean
CYPRUS
PAKISTAN
LAOS
PORTUGUESE GUINEA
NIGERIA
Indian Ocean

WORLD POPULATION GROWTH, 1920-2000

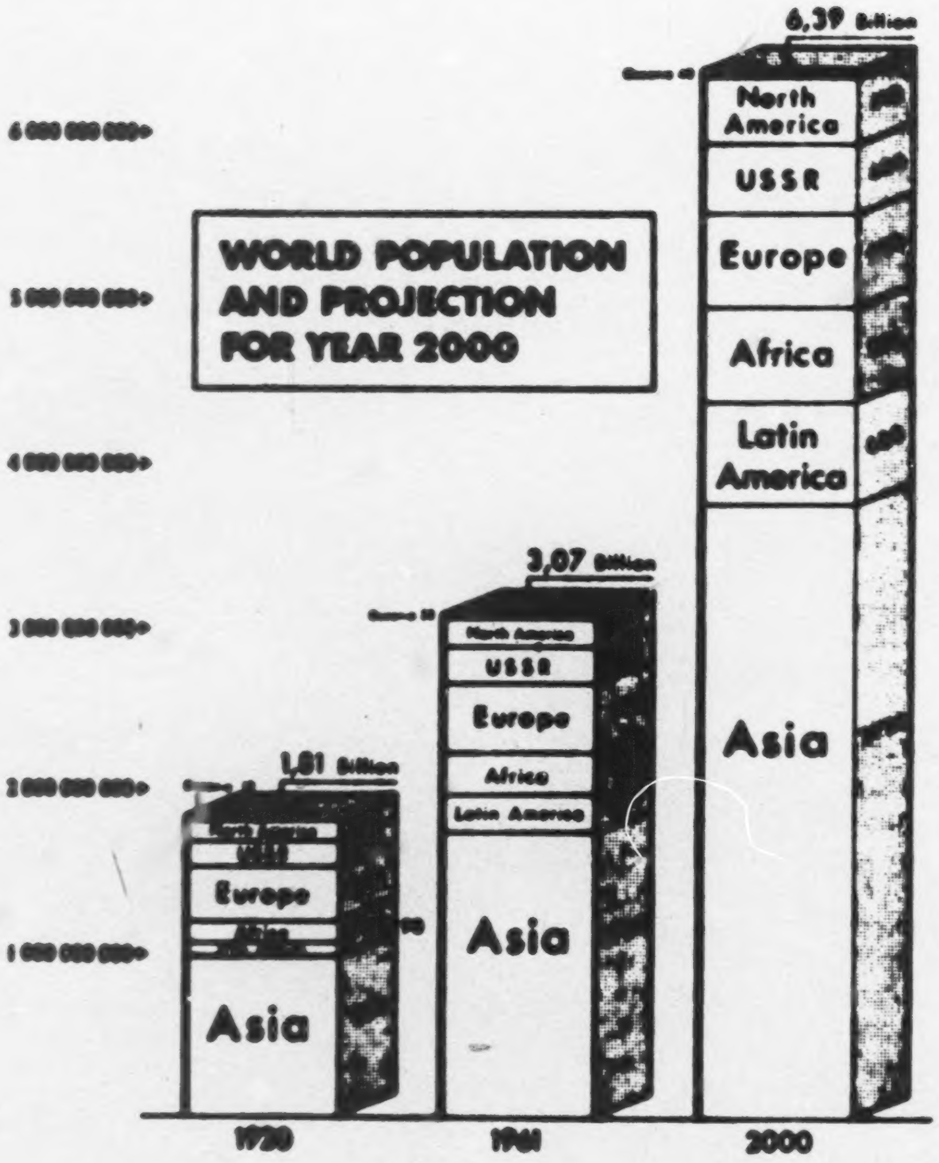


Source: United Nations, World Pop. Prospects 1963 (Revised, 1966)

VISUAL
3

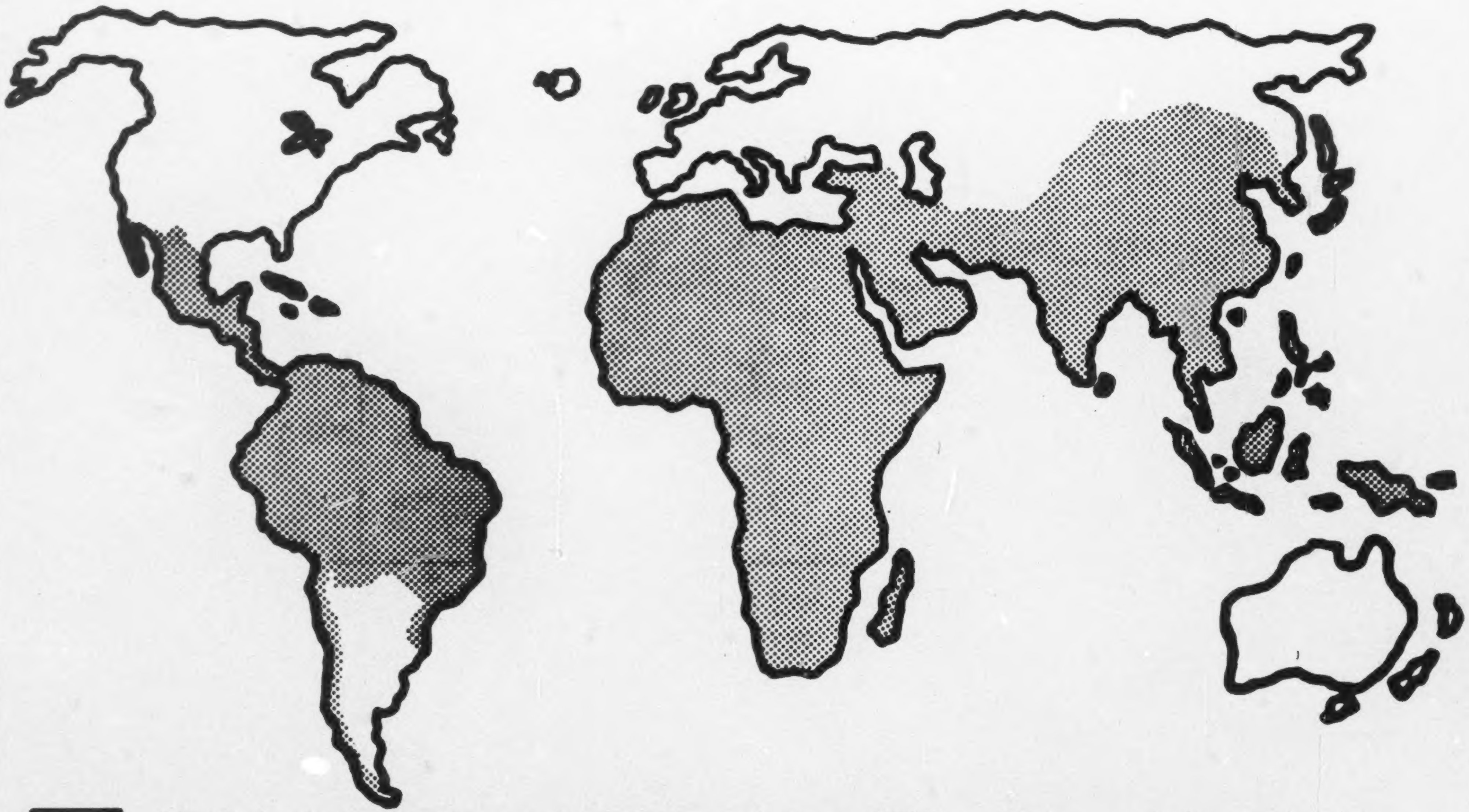
Rate of Increase and Time for a Population to Double

Annual Rate of Increase (In percent)	Doubling of Population (in years)
1.0	70
1.5	47
2.0	35
2.5	28
3.0	23
3.5	20
4.0	18



IT TOOK FROM	FOR EARTH'S POPULATION TO REACH
the beginning of man to the Neolithic age	7,990,000 years to reach 10 million
Neolithic to the Birth of Christ	10,000 years to reach 300 million
Birth of Christ to the days of Columbus	1,500 years to reach 500 million
Columbus to 1850 A.D.	350 years to reach 1 BILLION
1850 to 1925 A.D.	75 years to reach 2 BILLION
1925 to 1962 A.D.	37 years to reach 3 BILLION
and will take to 1975	13 years to reach 4 BILLION
and from there to 1982	7 years to reach 5 BILLION

THE HAVES AND HAVE-NOTS



☐ Well-fed countries— total population 876 million— daily caloric intake averages 3,050 per person

▨ Poorly fed countries— total population 2,136 million — daily caloric intake averages 2,150 per person

VISUAL
1

1. We live in a world of have and have-not nations.
2. Differences among nations in levels of living, by reason of the "revolution of rising expectations," have become "felt" differences.
3. The have-not nations are striving to achieve higher living levels and they have made this goal (apart from independence, for those that have not yet achieved it) their major national aspiration.
4. There is an inverse correlation between levels of living and present or projected rates of population growth.
5. Rapid population growth is obstructing efforts to raise levels of living, disparities between have and have-not nations are increasing rather than decreasing.
6. Despite national and international efforts to raise levels of living, disparities between have and have-not nations are increasing rather than decreasing.
7. The accelerating rate of urbanization in the developing areas is exacerbating social unrest, political instability, and threats to world peace.

8. The bipolar world political alignment - the confrontation between capitalist and communist nations, or the East-West cold war - is augmenting the tensions arising from frustrations in efforts to raise levels of living in the developing regions.
9. The bipolar political world is being fragmented by a have and have-not division within the communist bloc and by the Gaullist schism in the West. A possible world political realignment may occur on a have and have-not basis rather than on the present capitalist-communist basis. This would produce a North-South rather than an East-West confrontation.

POPULATION POLICY ISSUES

1. Consensus on the need to dampen rates of world population.
2. Argument to increase standard of living emphasis should be placed on economic development rather than birth control.
3. Argument that fertility control might retard rather than promote economic advances because it would diminish incentive.
4. Argument against population control flows from the socialist and communist thesis that world poverty is largely the result of the maldistribution of the world's production.
5. Soviet Union says that birth rates will come down automatically with increased industrialization and urbanization.

(*Intercom*, july-aug. 1968)

BIRTH CONTROL
POPULATION
Government Agencies & Private Institutions

1. Agency for International Development
2. Population Reference Bureau
3. Ford Foundation
4. International Planned Parenthood Federation
5. Population Association of America
6. Population Council
7. Rockefeller Foundation

VISUAL

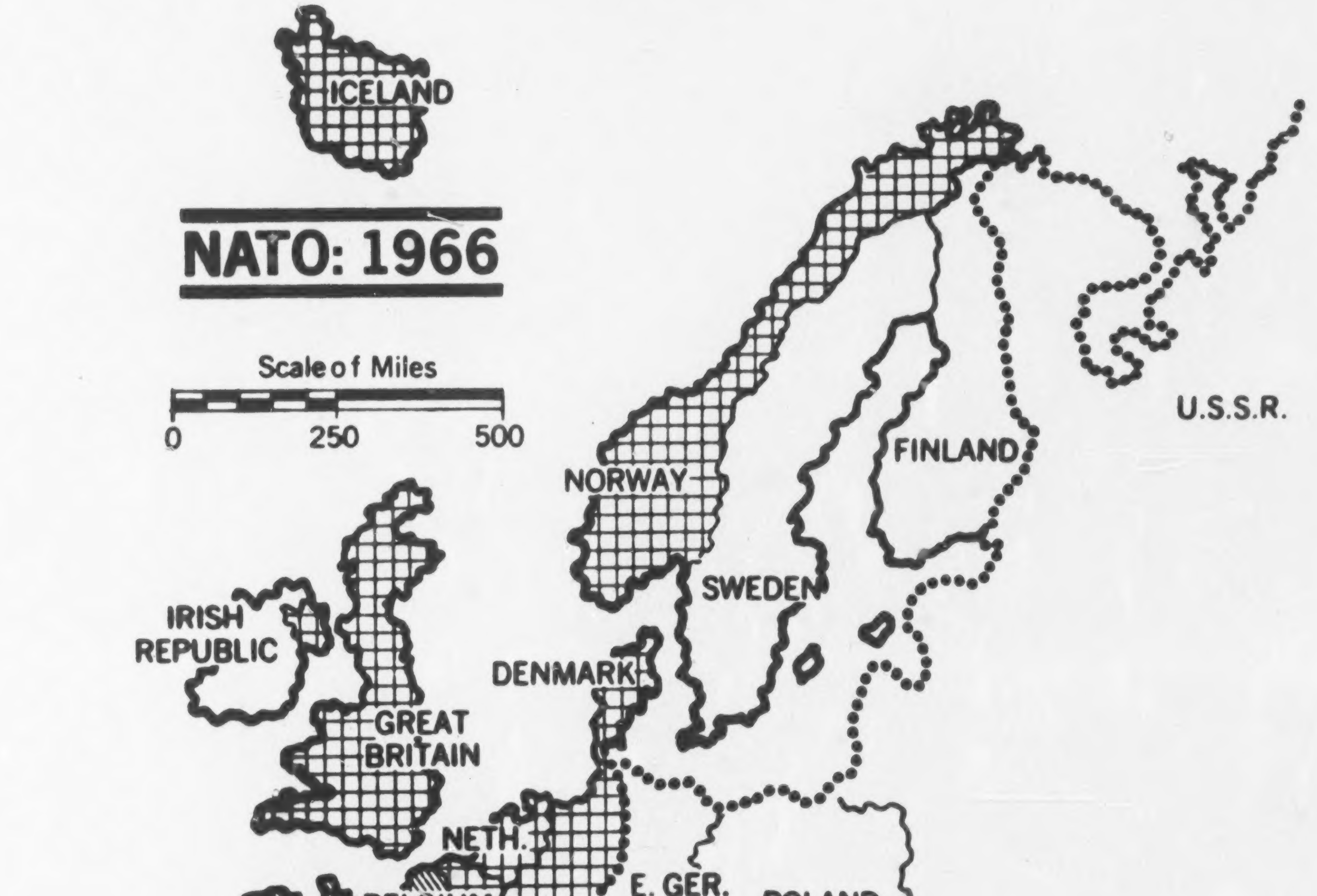
2

PER CAPITA FOOD PRODUCTION

Average For 1952/53 - 1956/57 Crop Year = 100

	Prewar Average	1953/54 Crop Year	1959/60 Crop Year	1963/64 Crop Year	1964/65 Crop Year	1965/66 Crop Year (Prelim)
WESTERN EUROPE	93	102	108	117	118	118
EASTERN EUROPE + USSR	84	96	124	119	129	127
NORTH AMERICA	85	100	100	103	101	104
OCEANIA	108	102	102	113	116	107
LATIN AMERICA	105	98	102	102	104	99
FAR EAST	107	100	106	107	108	104
NEAR EAST	93	103	107	107	104	101
AFRICA	100	101	99	101	100	96
WORLD TOTAL	95	100	107	108	109	107

Source: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, "The State of Food and Agriculture, 1966."



NATO: 1966

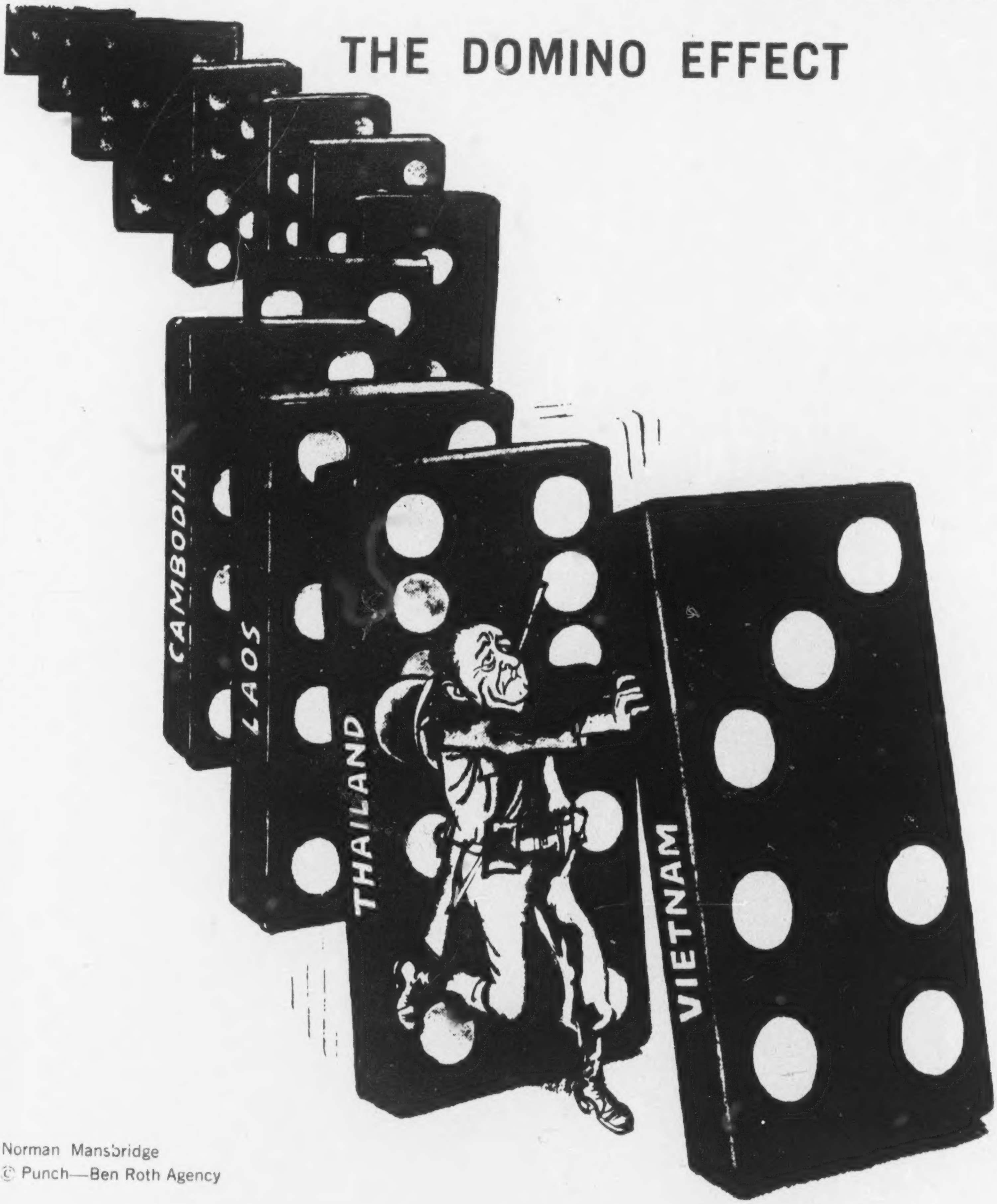
Scale of Miles
0
250
500
ICELAND
NORWAY
FINLAND
U.S.S.R.
SWEDEN
IRISH REPUBLIC
DENMARK
GREAT BRITAIN
NETH.
E. GER.
POLAND
BELGIUM
LUX.
W. GER.
CZECH.
FRANCE
SWITZ.
AUS.
HUNGARY
RUMANIA
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
ITALY
YUGOSLAVIA
BULGARIA
ALB.
TURKEY
GREECE
CYPRUS

(c) 1966, Newsweek, Inc.

VISUAL 3

TRANSPARENCY MASTER #SR-102
TO BE USED WITH MAR. 21, 1968, SENIOR SCHOLASTIC

THE DOMINO EFFECT

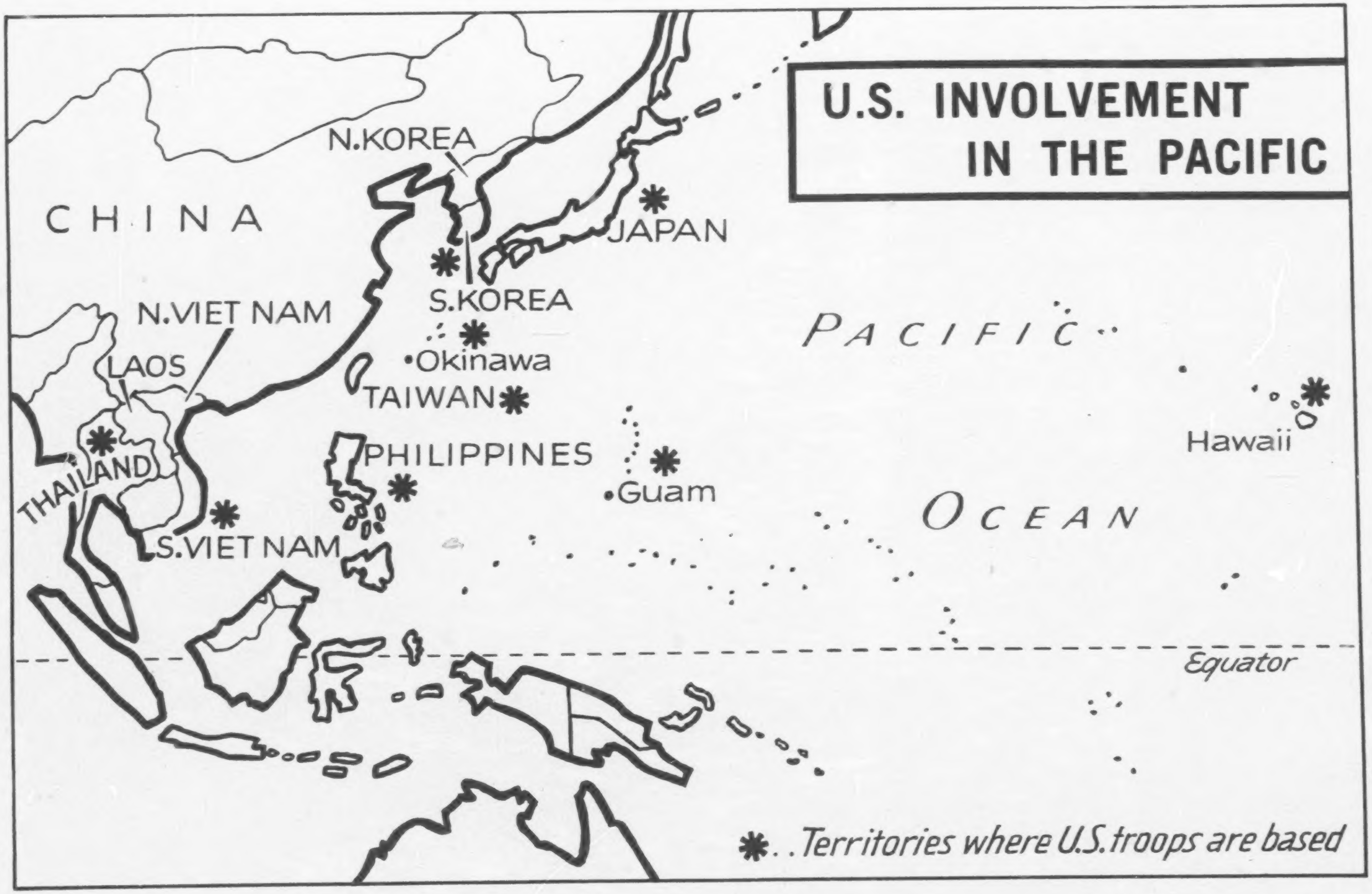


Norman Mansbridge
© Punch—Ben Roth Agency

1. What is "the domino effect"? How does it influence U.S. policy in Viet Nam? in other nations of Southeast Asia? Do you agree with this theory?
2. Name some other reasons which have been given for U.S. involvement in the Viet Nam war.

TRANSPARENCY MASTER #SR-101
TO BE USED WITH MAR. 21, 1968, SENIOR SCHOLASTIC

U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN THE PACIFIC


CHINA
N.KOREA
S.KOREA
JAPAN
N.VIET NAM
LAOS
THAILAND
S.VIET NAM
Okinawa
TAIWAN
PHILIPPINES
Guam
PACIFIC
OCEAN
Hawaii
Equator

✱ . . Territories where U.S. troops are based

Tell something of the history of U.S. involvement with each of these areas.

THE SENATOR SPEAKS OUT

- "The evil in communism is not in its doctrinal content, which at worst is utopian, but its fanatical certainty of itself, its messianic zeal, and its intolerance of dissent.

- *"There are no areas of public policy in which I am absolutely sure of the correctness of my opinions, but there are some in which I am reasonably confident of my judgment; it is in these areas that I try to make a contribution.*

- "Criticism . . . is more than a right; it is an act of patriotism, a higher form of patriotism, I believe, than the familiar rituals of national adulation.

- *"America is showing some signs of that fatal presumption, that overextension of power and mission, which has brought ruin to great nations in the past. The process has hardly begun, but the war which we are now fighting can only accelerate it.*

- "After twenty-five years of world power the United States must decide which of the two sides of its national character is to predominate—the humanism of Lincoln or the arrogance of those who would make America the world's policeman."

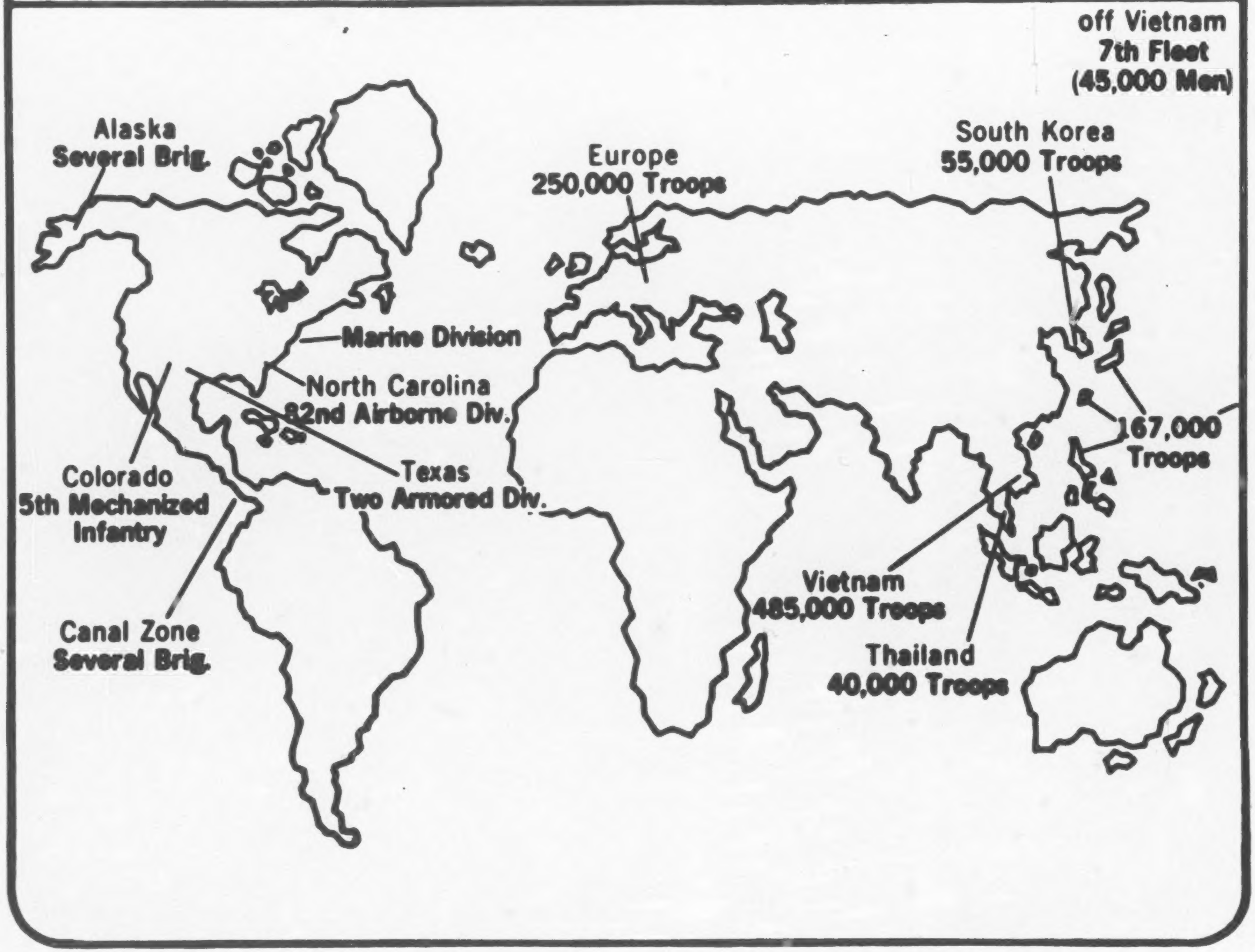
From Th[illegible]rrogance of Power, New York: Random House, 1966

VISUAL
10

VISUAL

4 [illegible]

U.S. FORCES DISTRIBUTION


off Vietnam
7th Fleet
(45,000 Men)
Alaska
Several Brig.
Europe
250,000 Troops
South Korea
55,000 Troops
Marine Division
North Carolina
82nd Airborne Div.
Texas
Two Armored Div.
Colorado
5th Mechanized
Infantry
Canal Zone
Several Brig.
167,000
Troops
Vietnam
485,000 Troops
Thailand
40,000 Troops

FUNDAMENTAL FORCES SHAPING FOREIGN POLICY

I. Equality and National Identity
II. Rising Expectations
III. Population Explosion
IV. Science

POLITICAL NATIONALISM

Is an attitude held by a group of people who think of themselves as a nation and on that account want to be a separate state and all relations with respect to others is governed by this desire.

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO NATIONALISM

I. Spiritual
  a. National mission
  b. Religion
II. Societal
  a. Racial
  b. Gregarious Man
III. Geography and Economy
IV. Cultural
V. Historical

Four Attributes of a Nation:

1. Territory
2. People
3. Government
4. Sovereignty

NATION - A group of people living in a fairly well-defined area and subject to the rule of a government within the area which is sovereign. It is a fundamental group of society.

SOVEREIGNTY - Independent power a nation possesses which enables it to determine its own destiny within the limits of its ability.

REASONS FOR U.S. INVOLVEMENT:

1. A Shrinking World
2. Need to Buy & Sell
3. Governmental Structure
4. Humanitarianism

NTERNATIONAL RELATIONS - includes multitudes of types of relations which exist among both the nationals and the governments of various nations.

NTERNATIONAL POLITICS - that which specifically centers on relations among various national governments.

FOREIGN RELATIONS - relations which the people and the government of the United States have with peoples and governments of other nations.

FOREIGN POLICY - the general plan of action which the United States follows in relation to governments of other nations.

Foreign Aid Funds, Fiscal 1966 (Thousands)

	Approp.Req	Final Approp.
Dev. Ass't		
Loans	$780,250	$618,225
Grants	210,000	202,355
U.s.Schools & Hospitals	7,000	7,000
Alliance for Progress		
Loans	495,125	435,125
Grants	85,000	75,000
Int. Organs	145,555	144,755
Supporting Ass't.	369,200	369,200
Contingency Fund	50,000	50,000
Military Ass't	1,170,000	1,170,000
TOTAL	$3,459,470	$3,218,000

LEADING AID RECIPIENTS

(millions)

Net Grants & Credits

1945-1963

	military	non-mil	total
France	4,402	4,695	9,097
United Kingdom	1,121	6,495	7,615
Korea	1,963	3,410	5,373
Taiwan	3,340	1,990	5,330
Italy	2,305	2,787	5,091
Japan	1,602	2,653	4,225
Germany	864	3,063	3,926
Turkey	2,247	1,442	3,689
Greece	1,559	1,570	3,130
India		3,075	3,074
Yugoslavia	719	1,739	2,459

APPENDIX 11

CLASSIFICATION OF FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS ACCORDING TO MODE OF ENTRY INTO THE FOREIGN SERVICE

(As of June 30, 1958)

Class	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	Total
Career ambassadors			2									2
Career ministers	40		12	5		3	5					65
FSO-1	101		1	8	2	10	29	5	30	1		187
FSO-2	108			5	4	20	59	9	160	5		370
FSO-3	158			1	4	34	28	4	300	7		536
FSO-4	235				2	40	5	4	280	3		569
FSO-5	208	1			1	9	2	4	357	4	1	587
FSO-6	288			1		5			323	1	1	619
FSO-7	126								1			127
FSO-8	380											380
Total	1, 644	1	15	20	13	121	128	26	1, 451	21	2	3, 442

A Entrance examination, class 8 appointment (or former equivalent level).
B Entrance examination, class 7 appointment.
C Rogers Act, 1924.
D Reorganization Act, 1939.
E Lateral entry, sec. 5 of Rogers Act as amended by sec. 7 of Moses-Linthicum Act, 1931.
F Sec. 517, Foreign Service Act (other than individuals appointed under programs as indicated below).
G Manpower Act, 1946 (limited to 250).
H 1951 personnel improvement program.
I Wriston program, 1954–57.
J Direct lateral entry, 40 and 175 quota authorization.
K Continuing lateral entry program beginning 1958.

SOURCE: Table taken from study entitled "The Formulation and Administration of United States Foreign Policy" prepared by the Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., at the request of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Committee print, 86th Cong., 2d sess., Washington, 1960, p. 128.

AMERICAN MEMBERS OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE BY CATEGORY AND CLASS ABROAD AND IN THE UNITED STATES

(As of March 31, 1960)

Categories and classes	Stationed in U.S.	Stationed abroad	Total
Foreign Service Officers			
Career ambassadors	....	1	1
Career ministers	20	53	73
FSO-1	96	122	218
FSO-2	178	231	409
FSO-3	246	327	573
FSO-4	279	380	659
FSO-5	225	434	659
FSO-6	81	294	375
FSO-7	106	240	346
FSO-8	144	151	295
Total	1, 375	2, 233	3, 608
Foreign Service Reserve Officers			
FSR-1	4	31	35
FSR-2	15	51	66
FSR-3	50	118	168
FSR-4	52	139	191
FSR-5	66	200	266
FSR-6	47	166	213
FSR-7	16	119	135
FSR-8	47	6	53
Total	297	830	1, 127
Foreign Service Staff			
FSS-1	3	13	16
FSS-2	5	14	19
FSS-3	2	19	21
FSS-4	3	20	23
FSS-5	4	21	25
FSS-6	3	21	24
FSS-7	5	45	50
FSS-8	13	131	144
FSS-9	26	242	268
FSS-10	37	523	560
FSS-11	49	938	987
FSS-12	103	836	939
FSS-13	127	292	419
Total	380	3, 115	3, 495

AMERICAN MEMBERS OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE BY CATEGORY AND CLASS ABROAD AND IN THE UNITED STATES—Continued

(As of March 31, 1960)

Categories and classes	Stationed in U.S.	Stationed abroad	Total
Other Categories			
Noncareer chiefs of mission		23	23
Consular agents		17	17
Unclassified	2	4	6
Grand Total of Foreign Service Americans [1]	2, 054	6, 222	8, 276

---

[1] In addition there was on Mar. 31, 1960, a total of 5,040 American employees in non-Foreign Service categories employed by the Department of State in the United States and a total of 9,827 foreign nationals employed at Foreign Service posts, making a grand total of 23,143 employees of the Department in all categories.

Source: *Foreign Service News Letter* No. 159, May 15, 1960, published by Office of the Director General of the Foreign Service, Department of State.

DISTRIBUTION OF WORK FORCE BY CLASS AND NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES

	FSR		FSO		FSS		GS	
Salary Level	CLASS	NUMBER	CLASS	NUMBER	CLASS	NUMBER	CLASS	NUMBER
$ 20,000			CA CM	2 72				
18,000	R-1	33	0-1	183			GS-18	3
16,000							GS-17 GS-16	10 24
14,000	R-2	58	0-2	388			GS-15	131
12,000	R-3	144	0-3	544	S-1 S-2 S-3	17 16 20	GS-14	156
10,000	R-4 R-5	176 249	0-4 0-5	624 652	S-4 S-5	20 24	GS-13 GS-12	221 280
8,000	R-6	220	0-6	469	S-6 S-7 S-8	28 46 143	GS 10&11	318
6,000	R-7 R-8	135 28	0-7 0-8	268 430	S-9 S-10 S-11 S-12	273 576 905 984	GS-8&9 GS-6&7 GS-5	414 860 781
4,000					S-13	396	GS-4 GS-3 GS-2 GS-1	630 342 27 52
2,000 TOTAL	FSR	1,043	FSO	3,632	FSS	3,448	GS	4,249

Source: *Career Development and Counseling Staff. Office of Personnel. Department of State*

*The above figures do not include:

(A) 58 American Foreign Service employees in the following categories: 23 noncareer Chiefs of Mission, 3 Foreign Service Staff employees—FSS-14 below, 18 consular agents, 6 unclassified employees, 8 contract employees;

(B) 9,755 Foreign national employees;

(C) 735 American domestic employees in various non-Civil Service categories;

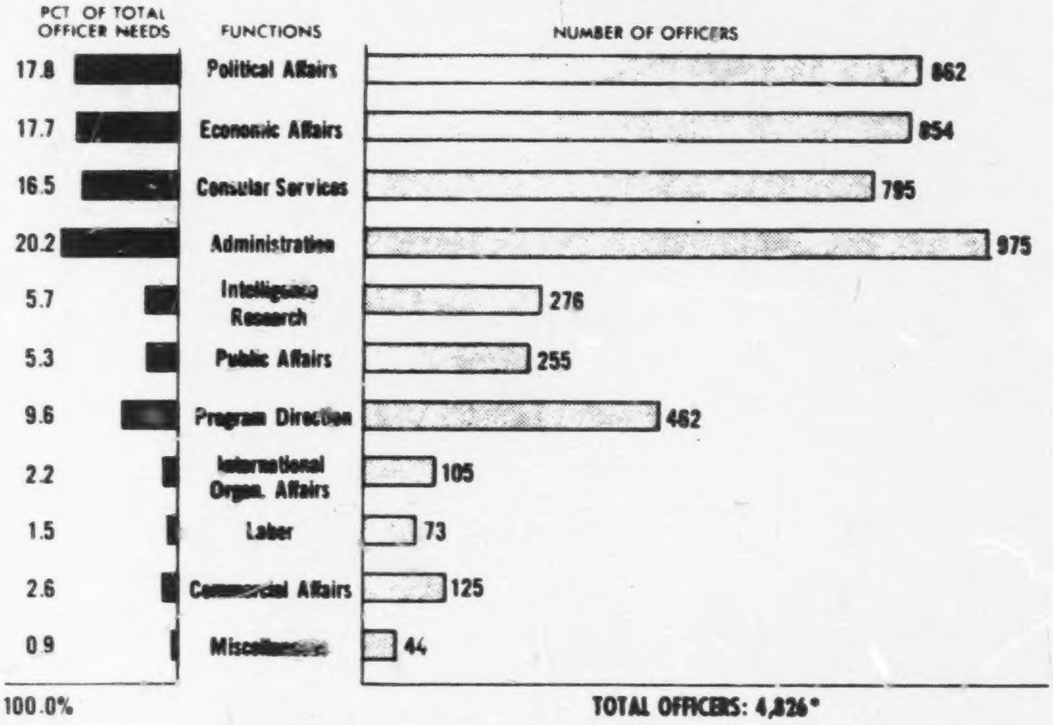
(D) All ICA employees.

274

FUNCTIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF FSO MANPOWER NEEDS

(As of December 31, 1959)

(1) Summary of Foreign Service Officer Needs by Function



(2) Foreign Service Officer Needs by Class and Function*

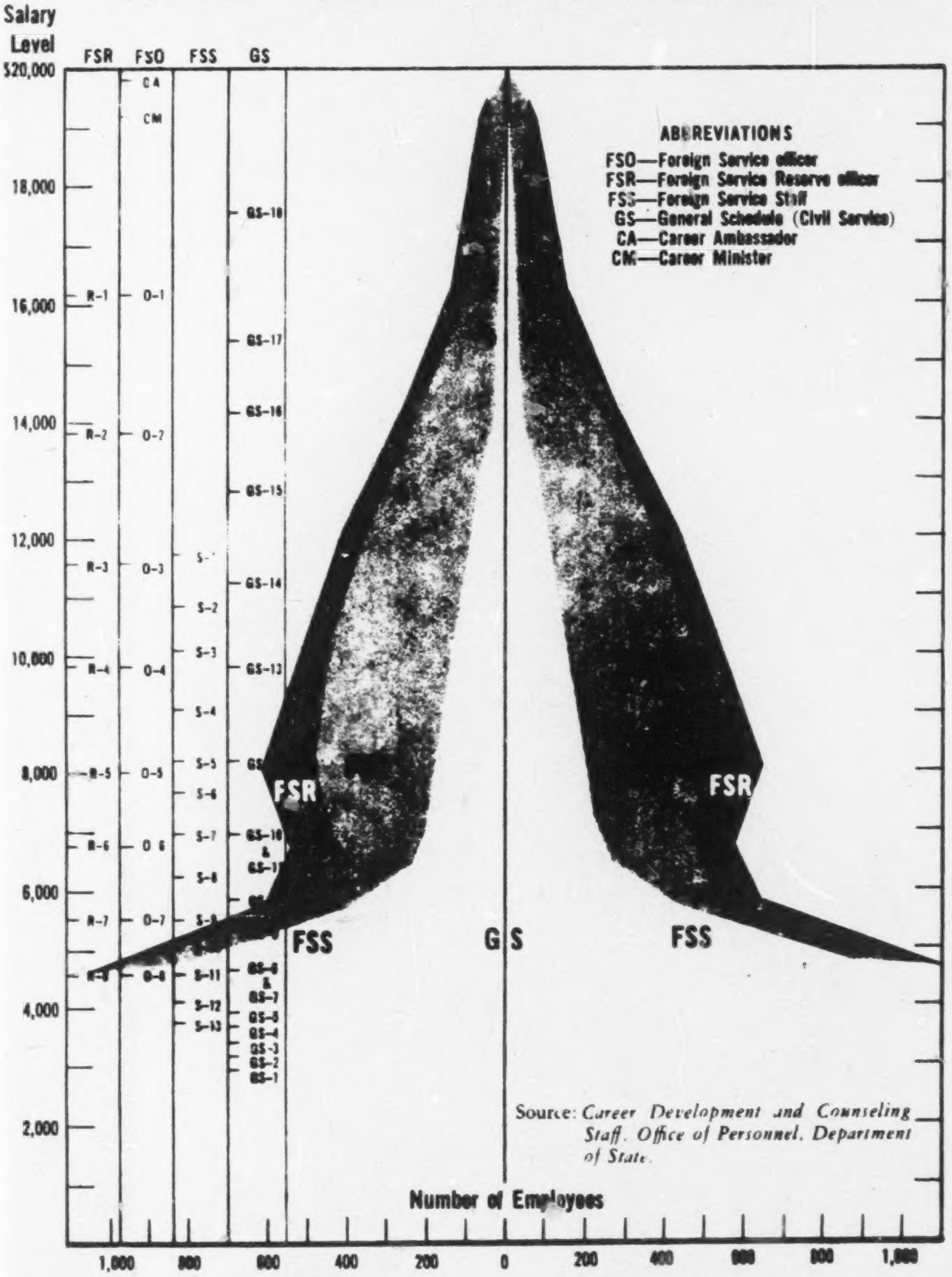
	Career Minister	FSO-1	FSO-2	FSO-3	FSO-4	FSO-5	FSO-6	FSO-7	FSO-8
I. *Overall Service Needs by Class* (expressed in percentages of total officer needs)	1.7	5.3	10.8	14.6	18.2	20.0	13.4	10.0	6.0
II. *Service Needs by Function and Class* (expressed in percentages of total officers needed for each function)									
Political affairs	0.3	6.6	12.9	19.5	19.9	20.7	13.3	4.6	2.2
Economic affairs	....	4.7	12.9	20.5	18.7	20.4	12.7	6.8	3.3
Consular services	....	1.4	1.6	5.2	13.0	23.1	22.1	19.5	14.1
Administration	....	1.0	6.1	13.2	21.1	25.1	15.7	11.5	6.3
Intelligence research	....	2.9	8.0	6.9	12.7	19.9	14.5	20.6	14.5
Public affairs	....	2.7	12.2	11.4	18.8	14.9	11.0	18.4	10.6
Program direction	17.5	21.4	27.1	17.7	14.1	2.2	....	....	....
International Organization Affairs	....	12.4	17.1	18.1	19.0	14.3	10.5	8.6	....
Labor affairs	....	....	19.2	27.4	28.7	21.9	1.4	1.4	....
Commercial affairs	....	....	4.8	17.6	32.0	34.4	9.6	1.6	....
Miscellaneous	....	22.7	25.1	4.5	22.7	6.8	2.3	6.8	9.1

*Data based on analysis of Foreign Service officer staffing requirements as of December 31, 1959, prepared by Career Development and Counseling Staff, Department of State.

The total estimated number of Foreign Service officers needed at home and abroad with adjustments to take account of all relevant factors was 4,826 as of December 31, 1959. Actual Foreign Service officer strength as of that date was 3,632. The difference in these two figures is to be explained by the filling of Foreign Service officer positions by persons who were not Foreign Service officers and other factors.

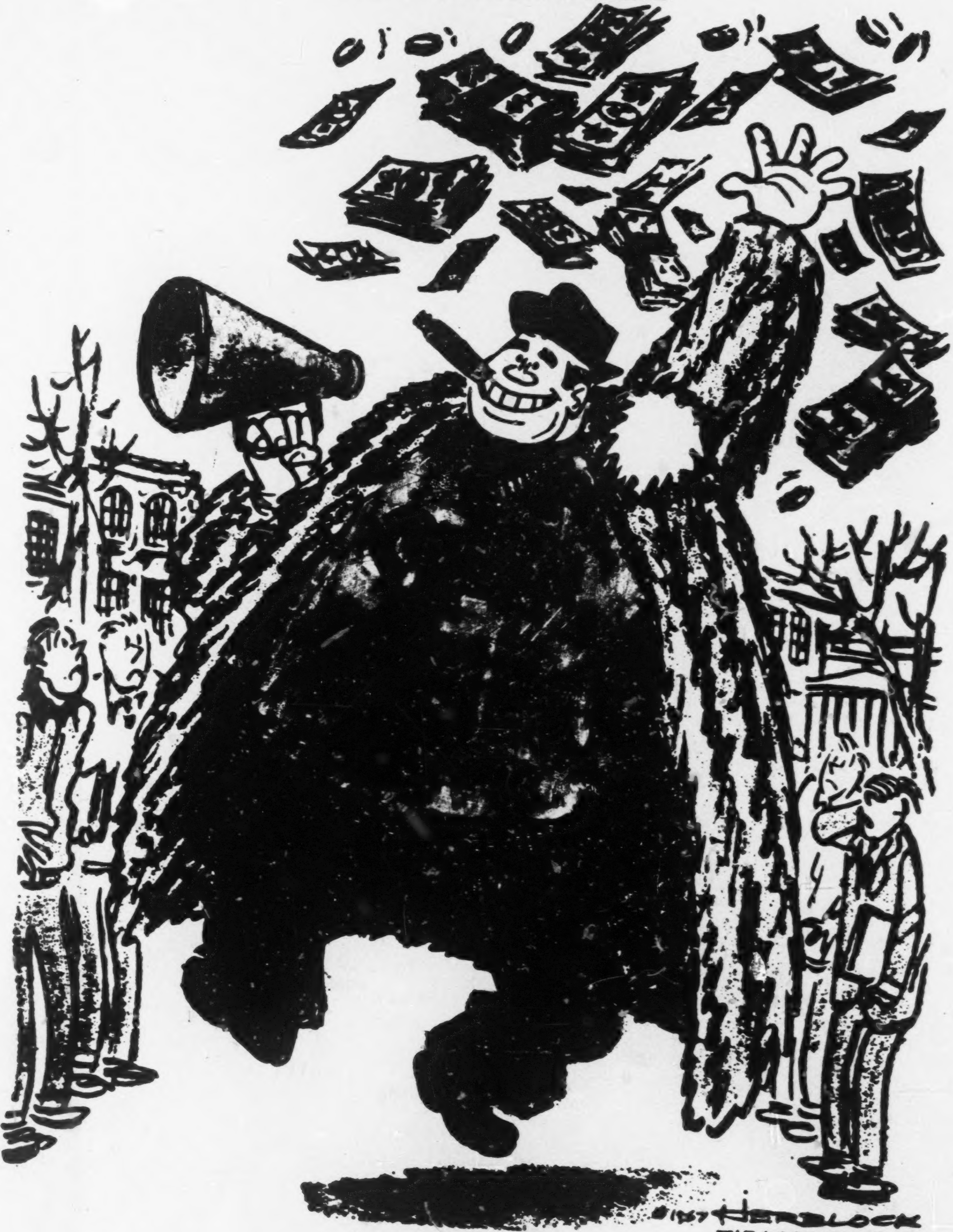
WORK FORCE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AT HOME AND ABROAD*

(By personnel category and base salary levels as of December 31, 1959)



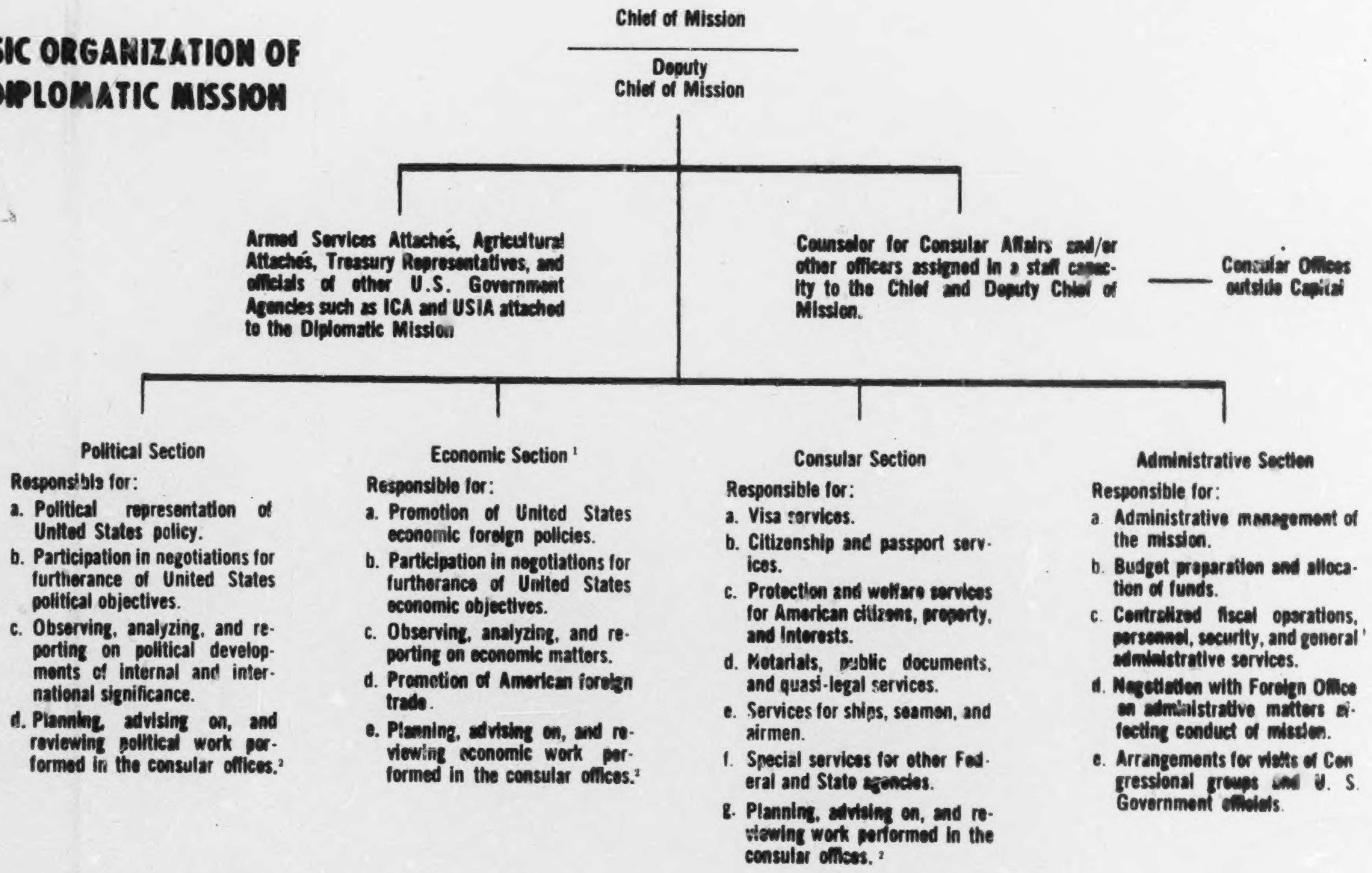
Source: *Career Development and Counseling Staff, Office of Personnel, Department of State.*

The Student Prince


©1967 HERBLOCK
THE WASHINGTON POST

VISUAL
1

BASIC ORGANIZATION OF A DIPLOMATIC MISSION



Chief of Mission

Deputy Chief of Mission

Armed Services Attachés, Agricultural Attachés, Treasury Representatives, and officials of other U.S. Government Agencies such as ICA and USIA attached to the Diplomatic Mission

Counselor for Consular Affairs and/or other officers assigned in a staff capacity to the Chief and Deputy Chief of Mission.

Consular Offices outside Capital

Political Section

Responsible for:

a. Political representation of United States policy.
b. Participation in negotiations for furtherance of United States political objectives.
c. Observing, analyzing, and reporting on political developments of internal and international significance.
d. Planning, advising on, and reviewing political work performed in the consular offices.[2]

Economic Section[1]

Responsible for:

a. Promotion of United States economic foreign policies.
b. Participation in negotiations for furtherance of United States economic objectives.
c. Observing, analyzing, and reporting on economic matters.
d. Promotion of American foreign trade.
e. Planning, advising on, and reviewing economic work performed in the consular offices.[2]

Consular Section

Responsible for:

a. Visa services.
b. Citizenship and passport services.
c. Protection and welfare services for American citizens, property, and interests.
d. Notarials, public documents, and quasi-legal services.
e. Services for ships, seamen, and airmen.
f. Special services for other Federal and State agencies.
g. Planning, advising on, and reviewing work performed in the consular offices.[2]

Administrative Section

Responsible for:

a. Administrative management of the mission.
b. Budget preparation and allocation of funds.
c. Centralized fiscal operations, personnel, security, and general administrative services.
d. Negotiation with Foreign Office on administrative matters affecting conduct of mission.
e. Arrangements for visits of Congressional groups and U. S. Government officials.

---

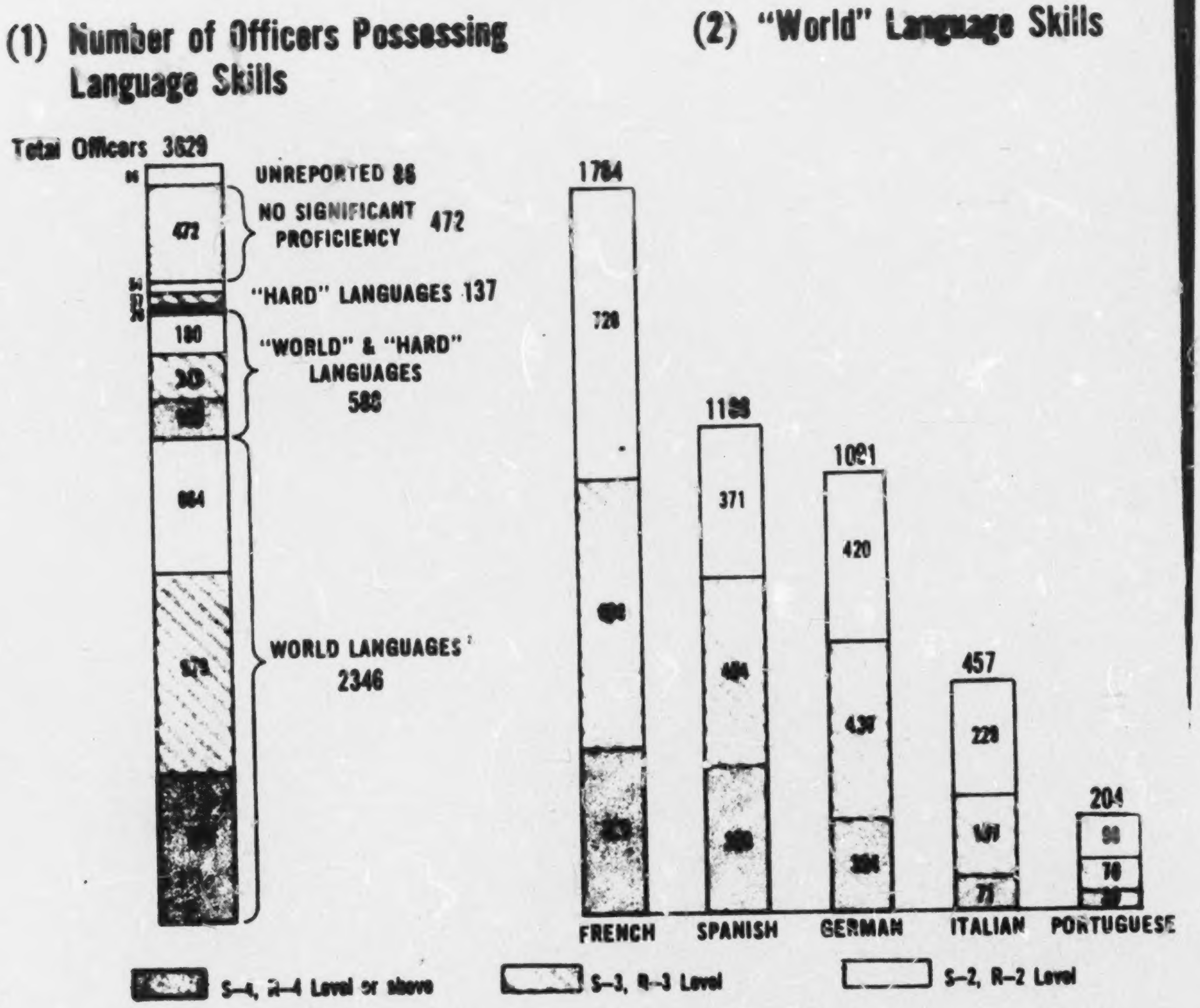
[1] Foreign Service officers or Foreign Service Reserve officers are assigned as Commercial Attachés in most missions and are included in the Economic Section.

[2] Liaison with work of consular offices outside capital performed in consultation with Counselor for Consular Affairs.

APPENDIX 14

LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY OF FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS[1]

(As of February 1960)


(1) Number of Officers Possessing Language Skills

(2) "World" Language Skills

DEFINITIONS OF LEVELS OF LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

"S" SPOKEN LANGUAGE

S–0 No practical knowledge of the spoken language.

S–1 Able to use greetings, ordinary social expressions, numbers, ask simple questions and give simple directions (sufficient for routine travel requirements).

S–2 Able to satisfy both routine social and limited office requirements.

S–3 Sufficient control of the structure and adequate vocabulary to handle representation requirements and professional discussions within one or more special fields.

S–4 Able to use the language fluently on all levels pertinent to the Foreign Service.

S–5 Spoken command of the language equivalent to that of English.

"R" WRITTEN LANGUAGE

R–0 No practical knowledge of the written la guage.

R–1 Able to recognize proper names, street sig office and shop designations, numbers, et

R–2 Able to read elementary or intermedi graded lesson material or simple colloqu writing.

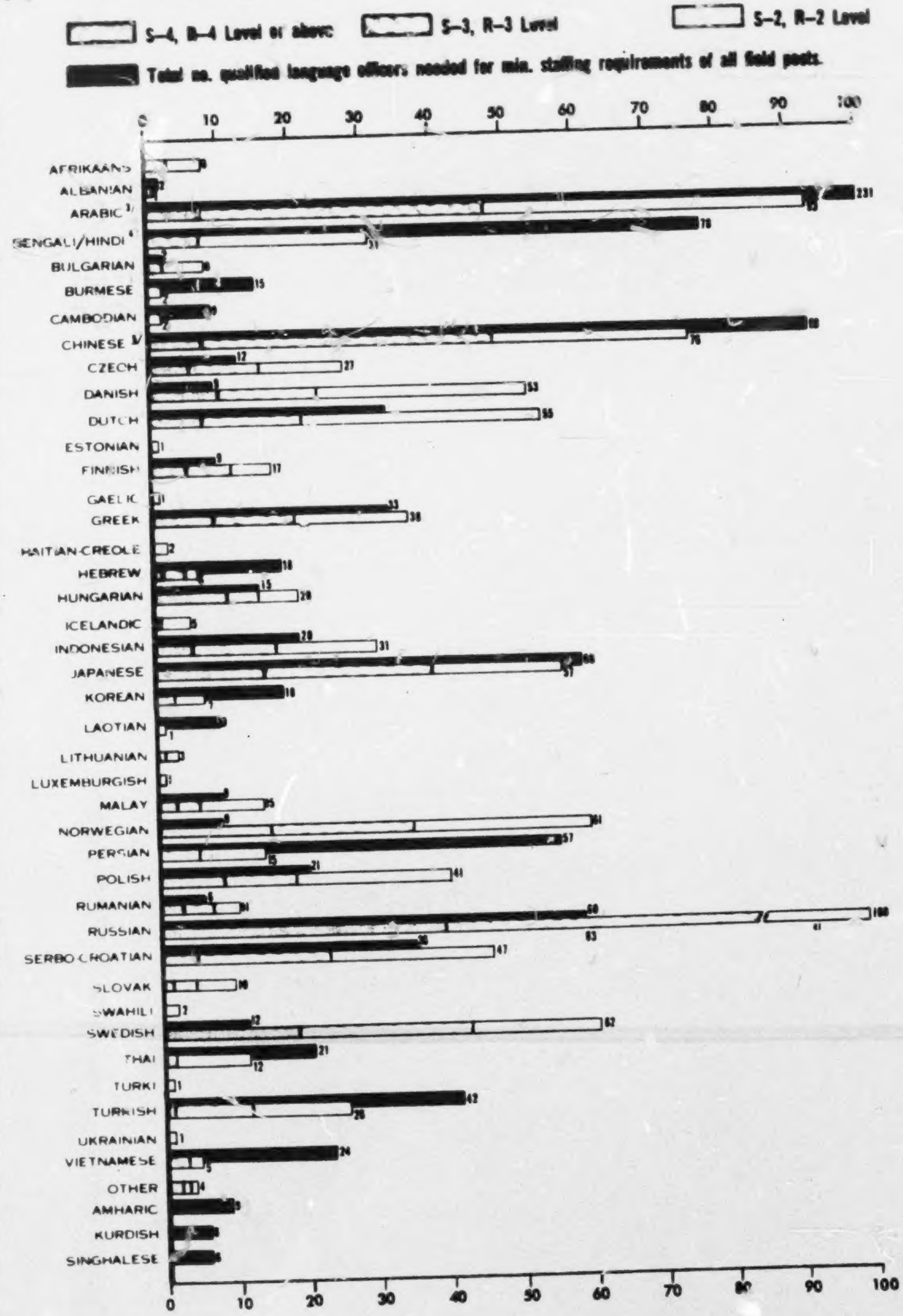
R–3 Able to read nontechnical news items technical writing in a special field.

R–4 Able to read all styles and forms of the language pertinent to the Foreign Service, including editorials, feature articles and official documents.

R–5 Reading and writing command of the language equivalent to that of English.

LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY OF FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS—Continued

(3) "Hard" Language Skills



TOP TEN LOBBYISTS, 1965

ORGANIZATION	1965 EXPENDITURES	MAIN GOAL
A. M. A.	$1,155,935.30	Defeat of Medicare
Postal Clerks	175,365.09	Increased Salaries
AFL-CIO	148,343.61	Repeal of Right-to-Work Law
American Legion	139,537.74	Increased Disability Compensation
Auto Excise Tax Committee	116,394.46	Repeal of 10% Tax
Farm Bureau	115,846.00	Defeat of Administration Farm Bill
Savings and Loan League	105,840.20	Continued Independence of Federal Loan Bank Board
Machinists' Union Lodge #44	104,766.96	Increased Federal Wages and Pensions
Housing Conference	95,534.40	Creation of Housing Dept. in Cabinet
Farmers Union	87,351.78	Passage of Farm, Housing and Education Bills

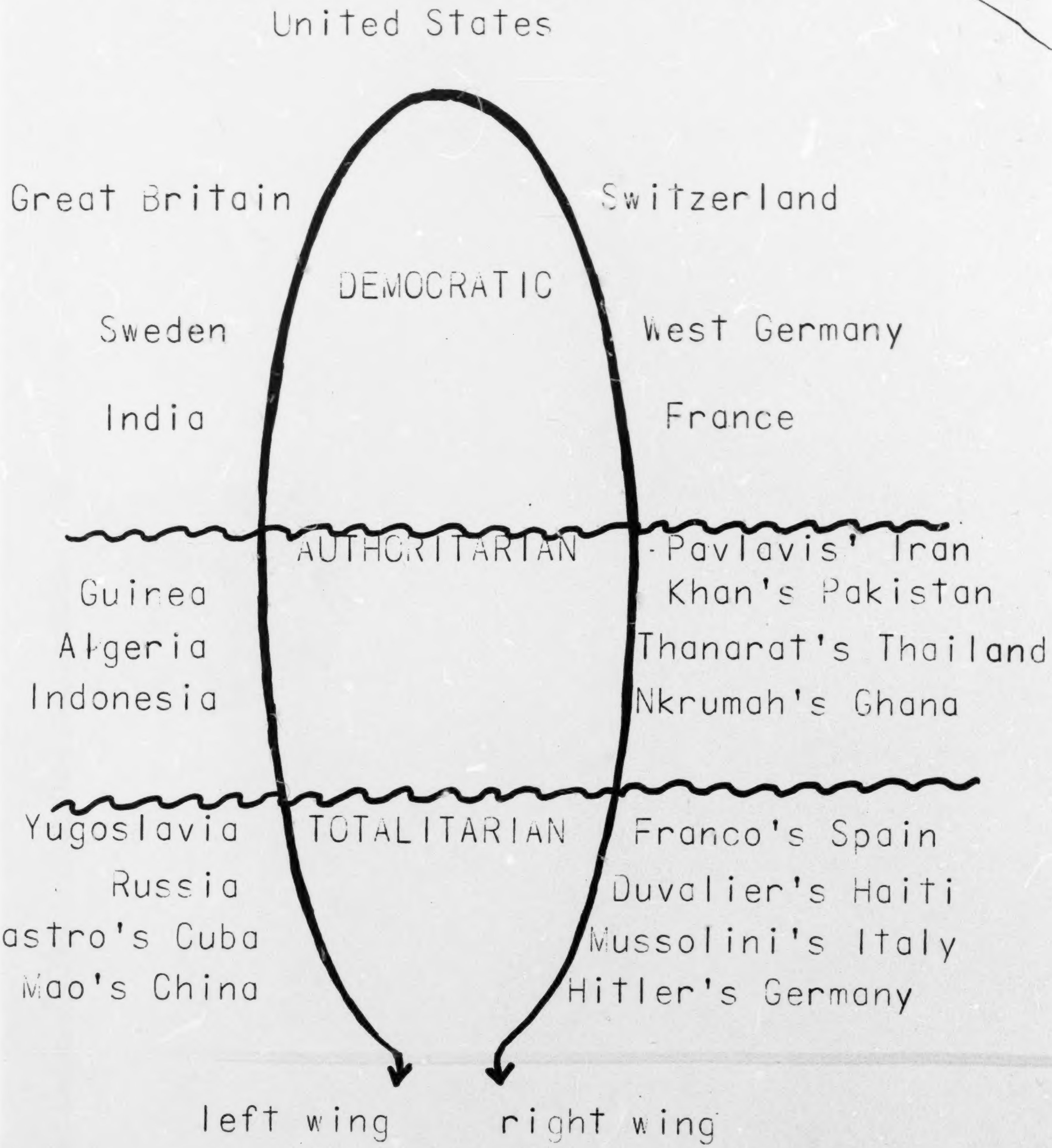
REACTIONS OF POPULACE WHEN CHANGE TOO ACUTE
(Unesco Report)

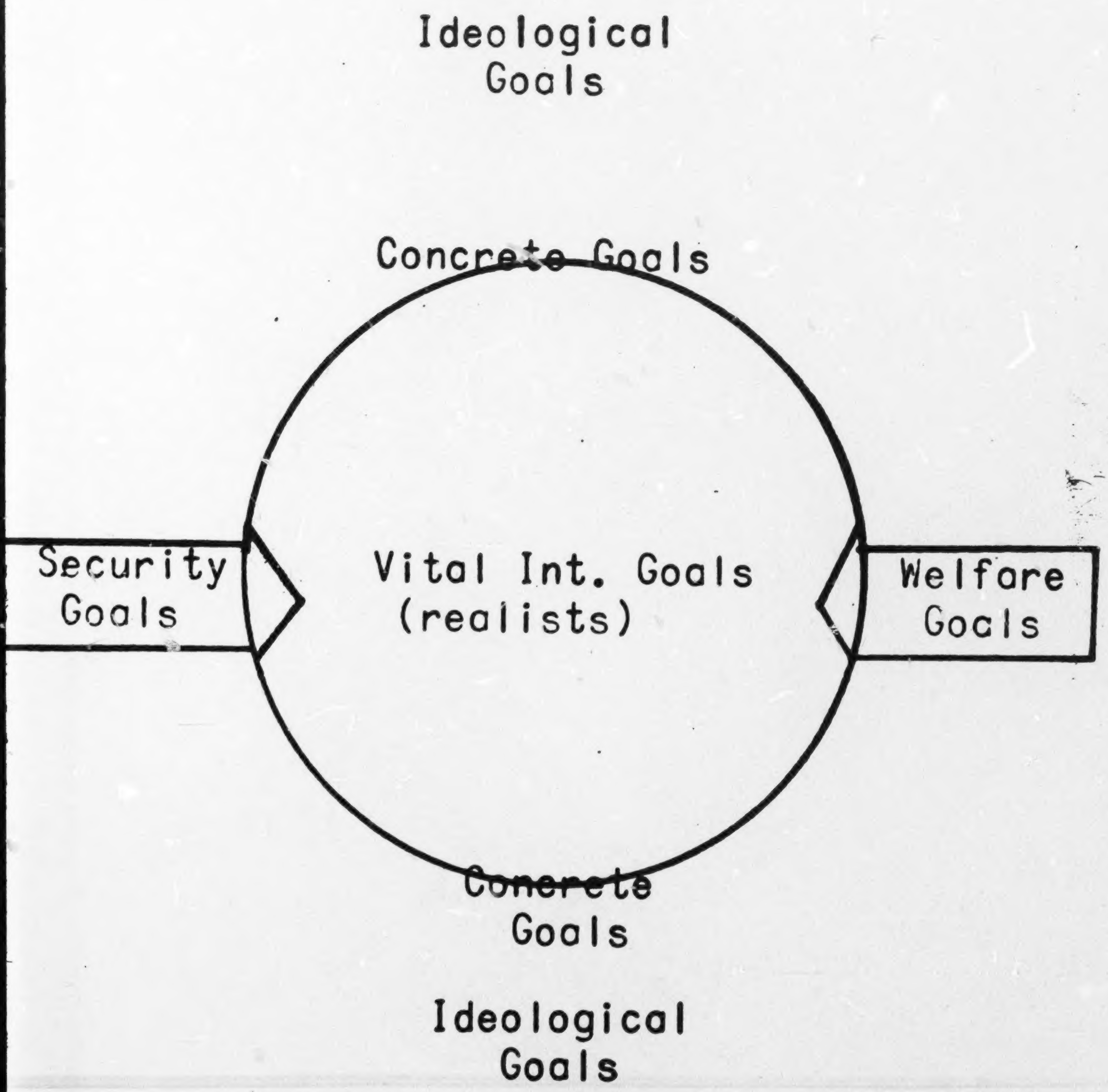
1. Return to old forms of behavior.
2. Less mature behavior.
3. Aggressive acts of rebellion.
4. Withdrawal (alcoholism) .
5. Chronic fatigue or scapegoating.

HINDERANCES TO SAVING AND INVESTMENT

1. Increased wants without rise in comes.
2. Conspicuous Consumption.
3. Support of kindred.
4. Population increase.

CONTEMPORARY IDEOLOGIES


United States
Great Britain
Switzerland
DEMOCRATIC
Sweden
West Germany
India
France
AUTHORITARIAN
Pavlavis' Iran
Guinea
Khan's Pakistan
Algeria
Thanarat's Thailand
Indonesia
Nkrumah's Ghana
Yugoslavia
TOTALITARIAN
Franco's Spain
Russia
Duvalier's Haiti
astro's Cuba
Mussolini's Italy
Mao's China
Hitler's Germany
left wing
right wing


Ideological Goals
Concrete Goals
Security Goals
Vital Int. Goals (realists)
Welfare Goals
Concrete Goals
Ideological Goals

IS NATO NECESSARY?

Against

1. Nuclear weapons make war unlikely
2. Entangling alliance
3. Has achieved purpose of strong Europe.
4. Troops in Europe further intensify cold war.

For

1. Withdrawal would create power vaccum.
2. Provides "trip-wire".
3. Prevents nuclear war with alternatives.
4. Collective security best safeguard

Possible U.S. Foreign Policy errors contributing to the NATO strain (reporter magazine)

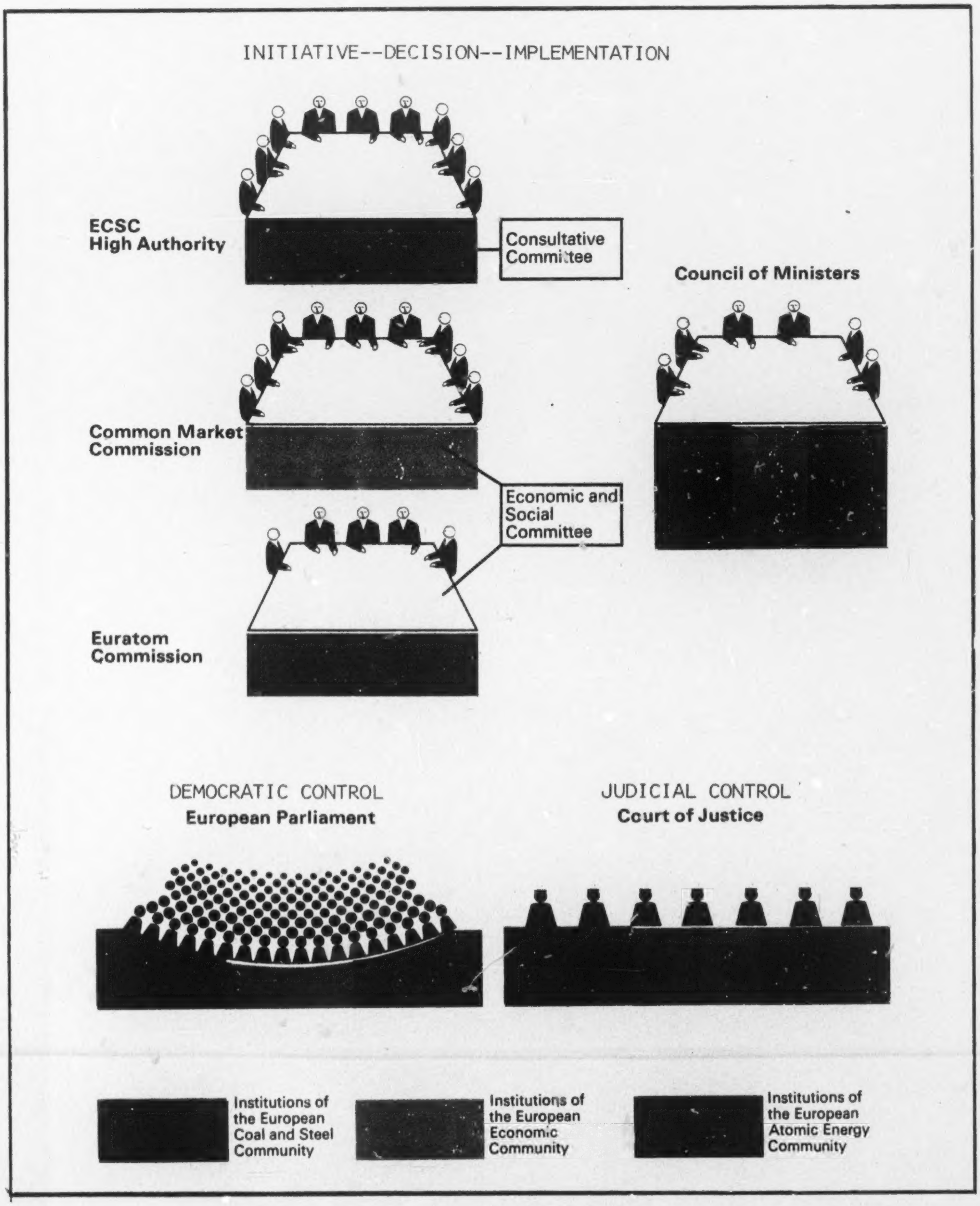
1. Dread of new Yalta by Europe
2. American dictation
3. American "gigantism"
4. American anti-colonialism

1. Exclusive U.S. leadership in nuclear weapons.
2. Belief of Europe that U.S. wishes to neutralize central Europe.
3. U.S. condemns her allies in U.N. vote regarding Suez Crisis.
4. U.S. tendency to improve U.S. image in undeveloped countries at expense of European cordial relations.

Obstacles to NATO Cohesion

1. European nationalism
2. U.S. sends poor representatives
   a. Lack real interests
   b. Don't speak the language
3. Using old criteria in applying military strategy.
4. U.S. demands for European market.
5. Lack of equality (Fr.)
6. Fear of German rearmament
7. An entangling alliance

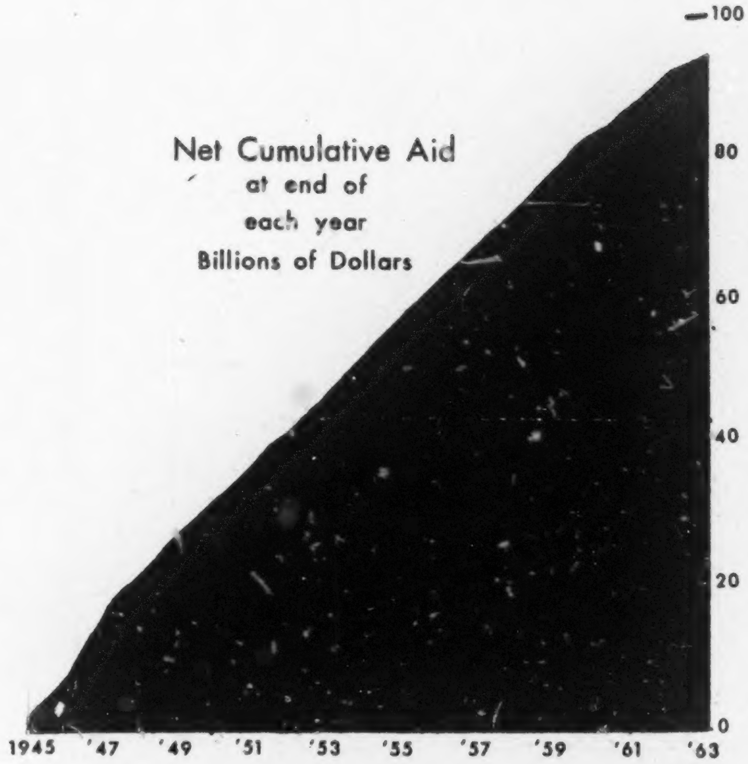
The Institutions of the European Communities


INITIATIVE--DECISION--IMPLEMENTATION
ECSC High Authority
Consultative Committee
Council of Ministers
Common Market Commission
Economic and Social Committee
Euratom Commission
DEMOCRATIC CONTROL
European Parliament
JUDICIAL CONTROL
Court of Justice
Institutions of the European Coal and Steel Community
Institutions of the European Economic Community
Institutions of the European Atomic Energy Community

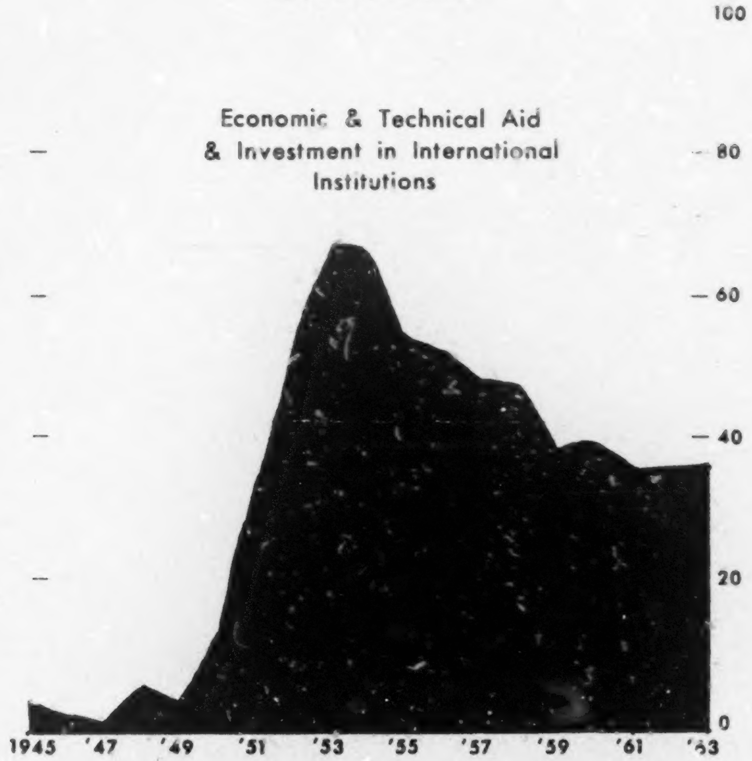
U.S. Foreign Aid

July 1, 1945 - June 30, 1963

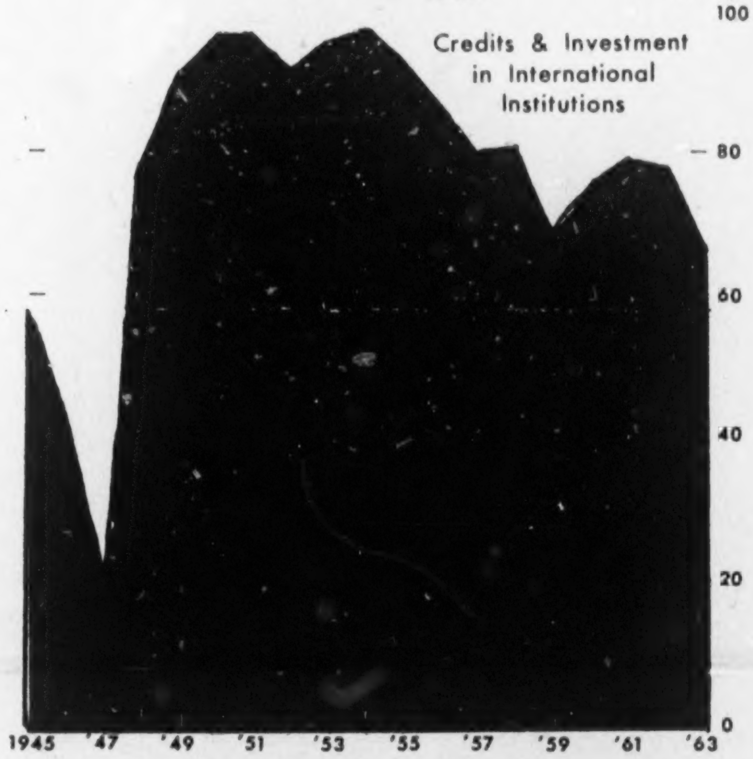
Total



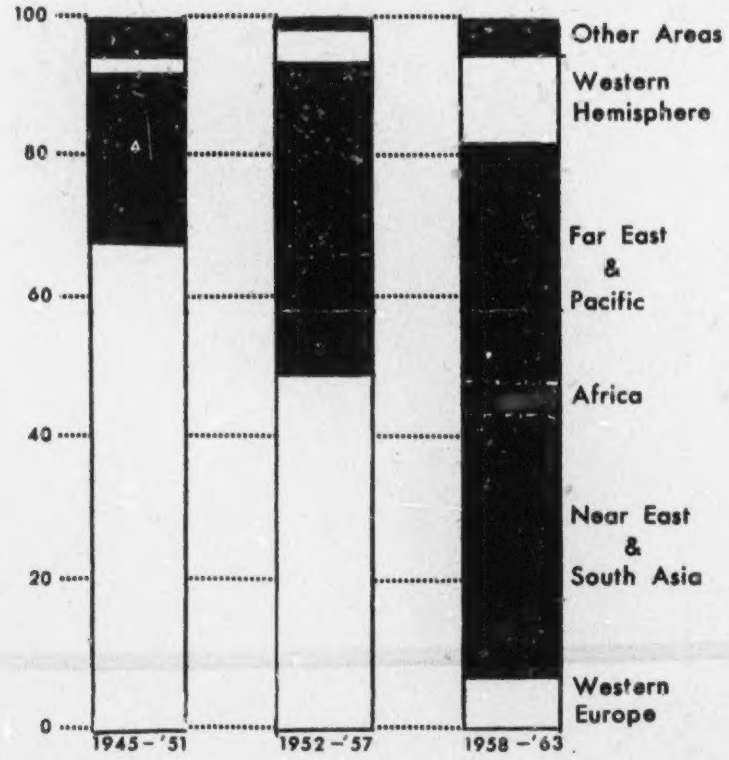
Military vs. Other
Each Year = 100%



Grants vs. Other
Each Year = 100%



Where in the World



▲ Includes Far East, Pacific, Africa, Near East and South Asia

4 By NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE BOARD, Inc.
845 Third Avenue New York, N. Y. 10022

Road Maps of Industry
No. 1482 May 22, 1964

CAN PLANET EARTH FEED ITSELF?

I. SOME POSITIVE SIGNS

- A. TWELVE DEVELOPING NATIONS HAVE ACHIEVED A COMPOUND RATE OF INCREASE IN CROP OUTPUT OF MORE THAN 4% ANNUALLY.
- B. INDIA HAS ACHIEVED MORE THAN 50% INCREASE IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION BETWEEN 1951 AND 1965.
- C. WORLD HAS SUFFICIENT RESOURCES AND TECHNICAL KNOWLEDGE TO INCREASE FOOD PRODUCTION MANY TIMES OVER.

II. NEED FOR REVOLUTION

- A. UNDERDEVELOPED MUST MOUNT SUSTAINED DRIVE TO IMPROVE OWN AGRICULTURAL SYSTEM.
- B. AGGRESSIVE NATIONAL ACTION AND CAPITAL INVESTMENT.
- C. MASSIVE EDUCATION CAMPAIGN IN ALL AREAS TO IMPROVE JUICES AND BETTER DIETS.
- D. DEVELOP WIDE RANGE OF HUMAN SKILLS.
- E. ABANDONMENT OF OUTMODED FORMS OF ORGANIZATION.
- F. SWEEPING LAND REFORMS.

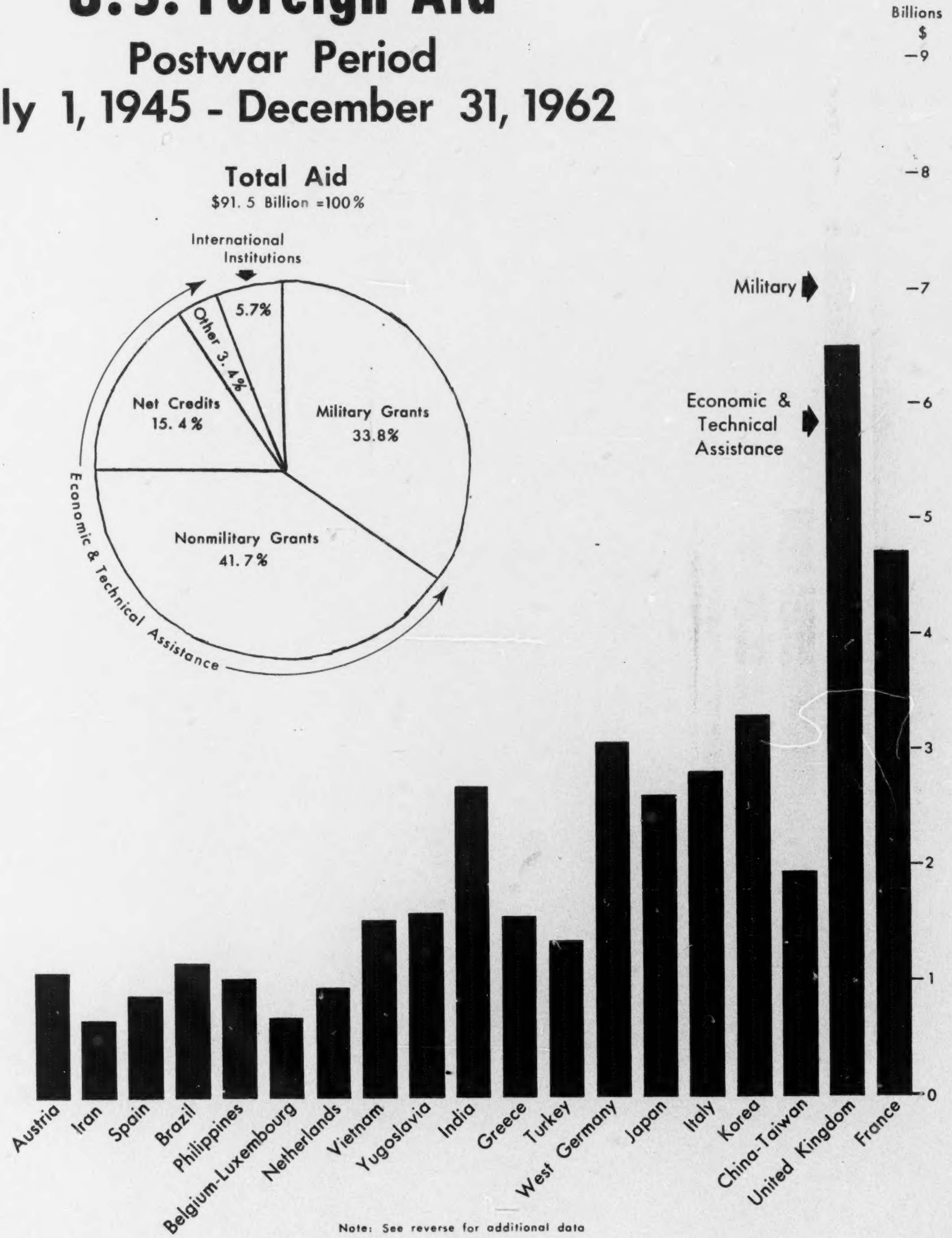
III. MEASURES TO BE TAKEN?

- A. OPEN VIRGIN LAND - BUT FACT IS WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS NO LARGE AREAS OF POTENTIALLY PRODUCTIVE LANDS EXIST.
- B. TO GET SUBSTANTIAL GAIN IN FOOD PRODUCTION - INCREASE OUTPUT ON LANDS ALREADY FARMED.
    - 1. USE OF MORE AND BETTER FERTILIZER (74% IN YIELDS AVERAGE - FAO)
        - a. 1980 UNDEVELOPED WILL NEED 30 MILLION TONS ANNUALLY, YET WILL PRODUCE 4 MILLION TONS - THUS CRASH PROGRAM NEEDED.
        - b. TO OVERCOME SHORTAGE AN ESTIMATED $5 TO $10 BILLION IN MINES, PLANTS, ETC. NEEDED.
        - c. USE HYBRID SEEDS AND NEW PLANT STRAINS (THAILAND INCREASED CORN CROP BY SOME 450% SINCE 1955.)
- C. IMPROVE DIETS
    - 1. MOST SERIOUS SHORTAGE IS PROTEIN - FISH FLOUR DEVELOPED.
    - 2. DRINK MADE FROM SOYBEAN EXTRACT OF SESAME SEED TAKES THE PLACE OF MILK.
    - 3. TRANSFORMING GRAIN INTO PRODUCT WITH QUALITIES OF THOSE OF MEAT.
    - 4. SHIFT IN DIET.
    - 5. END TO CUSTOMS INHIBITING USE OF CERTAIN FOODS.

U.S. Foreign Aid

Postwar Period

July 1, 1945 - December 31, 1962



Note: See reverse for additional data
Source: Department of Commerce

54 By NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE BOARD, Inc.
845 Third Avenue New York, N. Y. 10022

Road Maps of Industry
No. 1463 January 10, 1964

APPENDIX 6

SUMMARY STATEMENT OF APPOINTMENTS FROM REGULAR FSO-8 EXAMINATIONS [1]
(1947 - 1957)

	Sept. 1947 Exam.	Sept. 1948 Exam.	Sept. 1949 Exam.	Sept. 1950 Exam.	Sept. 1951 Exam.	Sept. 1952 Exam.	Sept. 1953 Exam.	Sept. 1954 Exam.	June 1955 Exam.	Dec. 1955 Exam.	June 1956 Exam.	Dec. 1956 Exam.	June 1957 Exam.	Dec. 1957 Exam.
Applications received.	Not known	2,015	1,751	1,384	1,090	2,701	1,730	1,261	4,504	5,394	4,968	7,635	4,385	6,094
Number examined . . .	1,288	1,141	1,128	807	693	1,639	1,069	750	3,334	4,068	3,121	5,194	2,616	3,959
Number passed written.	263	198	194	162	158	375	224	163	658	723	952	1,212	556	676
Number withdrew before oral.	75	61	65	71	17	137	71	43	136	157	185	318	152	170
Number pending oral .	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	7	20	15	27
Number took oral . . .	188	137	129	91	141	238	153	120	522	563	760	894	389	479
Number passed oral . .	131	83	82	59	106	151	103	69	201	271	303	191	80	87
Number deferred pending second oral.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	8	11	15	13
Withdrew after oral or were disqualified.	20	6	17	9	17	32	15	7	60	70	71	57	16	7
Number pending appointment. [2]	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	7	12	35	39	18	54
Certified for appointment.	111	77	65	50	89	118	88	61	134	189	197	95	46	26

[1] Figures are as of June 30, 1959.
[2] Includes those not available due to academic study and required military service as well as those who are available waiting appointment.

Note: No written examination for candidates for appointment as Foreign Service Officer, class 8, was held in 1958. In the written examination held in December 1959 a total of 6,470 candidates took the examination, of whom 1,311 passed. Of the number who passed, 971 had appeared for the oral examination as of Oct. 15, 1960; and through Aug. 31, 1960, 337 had been recommended for appointment.

SOURCE: Board of Examiners of the Foreign Service, Department of State.

APPENDIX 16

SALARIES OF FOREIGN SERVICE PERSONNEL [1]

Foreign Service Officers/Foreign Service Reserve Officers (FSO/FSR)

FSO—Career Ambassador	$20,000
FSO—Career Minister	19,800

FSO/FSR–1	$17,250 to $19,650
FSO/FSR–2	14,900 to 17,030
FSO/FSR–3	12,535 to 14,665
FSO/FSR–4	10,645 to 12,445
FSO/FSR–5	$8,755 to $10,555
FSO/FSR–6	7,215 to 8,655
FSO/FSR–7	6,035 to 7,115
FSO/FSR–8	5,085 to 6,345

Foreign Service Staff Officers and Employees (FSS)

Class 1	$12,655 to $14,155
Class 2	11,740 to 13,040
Class 3	10,785 to 12,025
Class 4	9,780 to 11,020
Class 5	9,025 to 10,325
Class 6	8,270 to 9,420
Class 8	7,515 to 8,665
Class 9	6,760 to 7,910
Class 10	6,005 to 7, 155
Class 11	5,500 to 6,640
Class 12	5,000 to 5,930
Class 12	$4,495 to $5,425
Class 13	4,010 to 4,940
Class 14	3,550 to 4,480
Class 15	3,325 to 4,015
Class 16	3,095 to 3,575
Class 17	2,860 to 3,340
Class 18	2,640 to 3,120
Class 19	2,410 to 2,890
Class 20	2,180 to 2,660
Class 21	1,950 to 2,430
Class 22	1,720 to 2,200

[1] These salary schedules, in effect as of July 10, 1960, also apply to personnel of the International Cooperation Administration (ICA) and the United States Information Agency (USIA).

APPENDIX 17

FOREIGN BUILDINGS AND PROPERTIES OWNED BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

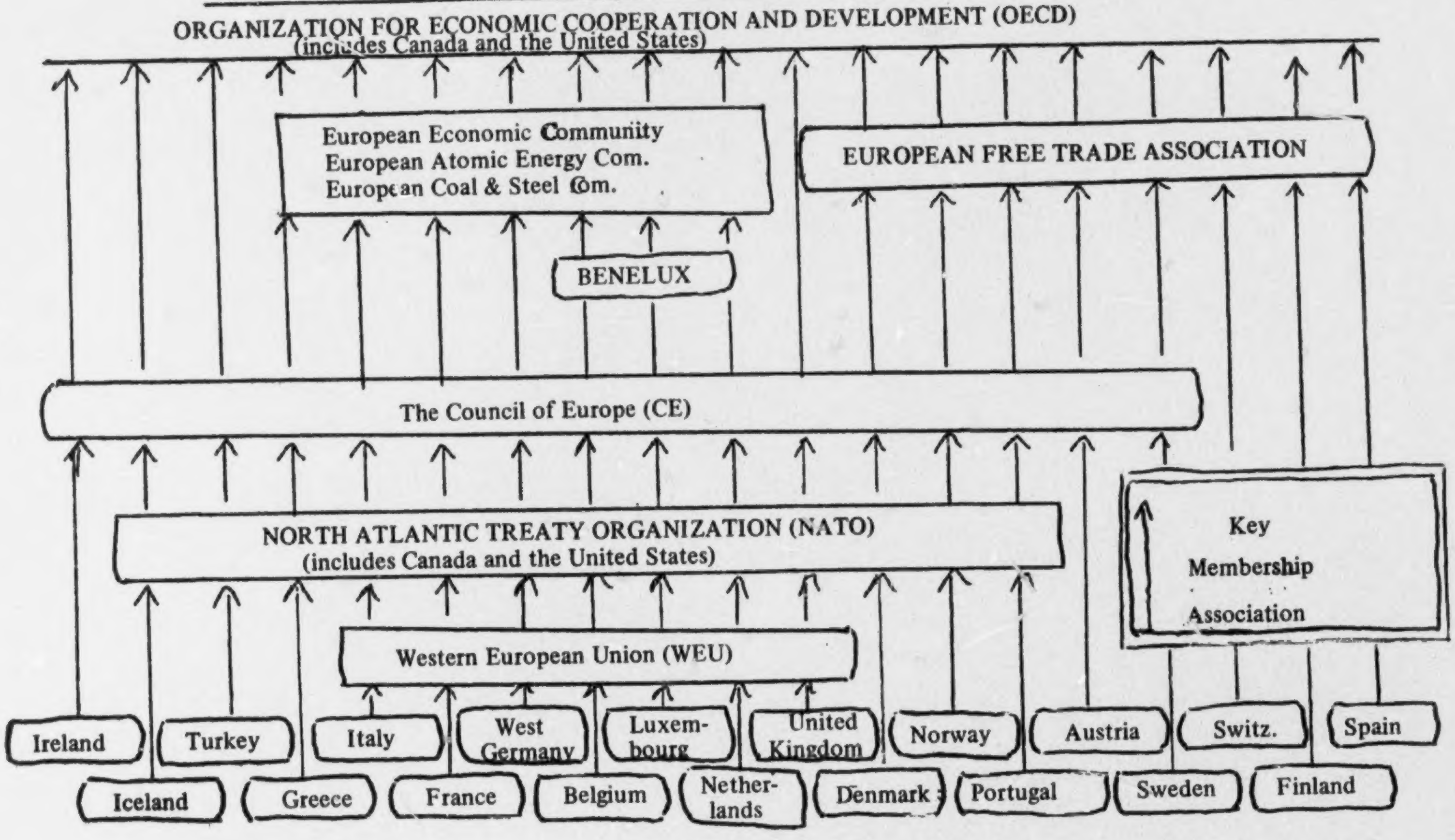
Area	Office [1]	Residential [2]	Combined office and residential	Other	Building sites	Total	Capital outlay and initial repairs
American Republics	22	33	7	3	7	72	$17,978,844
Europe	61	322	19	20	25	447	94,434,766
Africa	18	79	2	15	5	119	7,981,158
Near East	28	110	11	18	19	186	26,589,176
Far East	28	265	9	39	23	364	37,386,500
Total	157	809	48	95	79	1,188	$184,370,444

[1] Embassy, legation, and consular buildings used exclusively for office purposes.

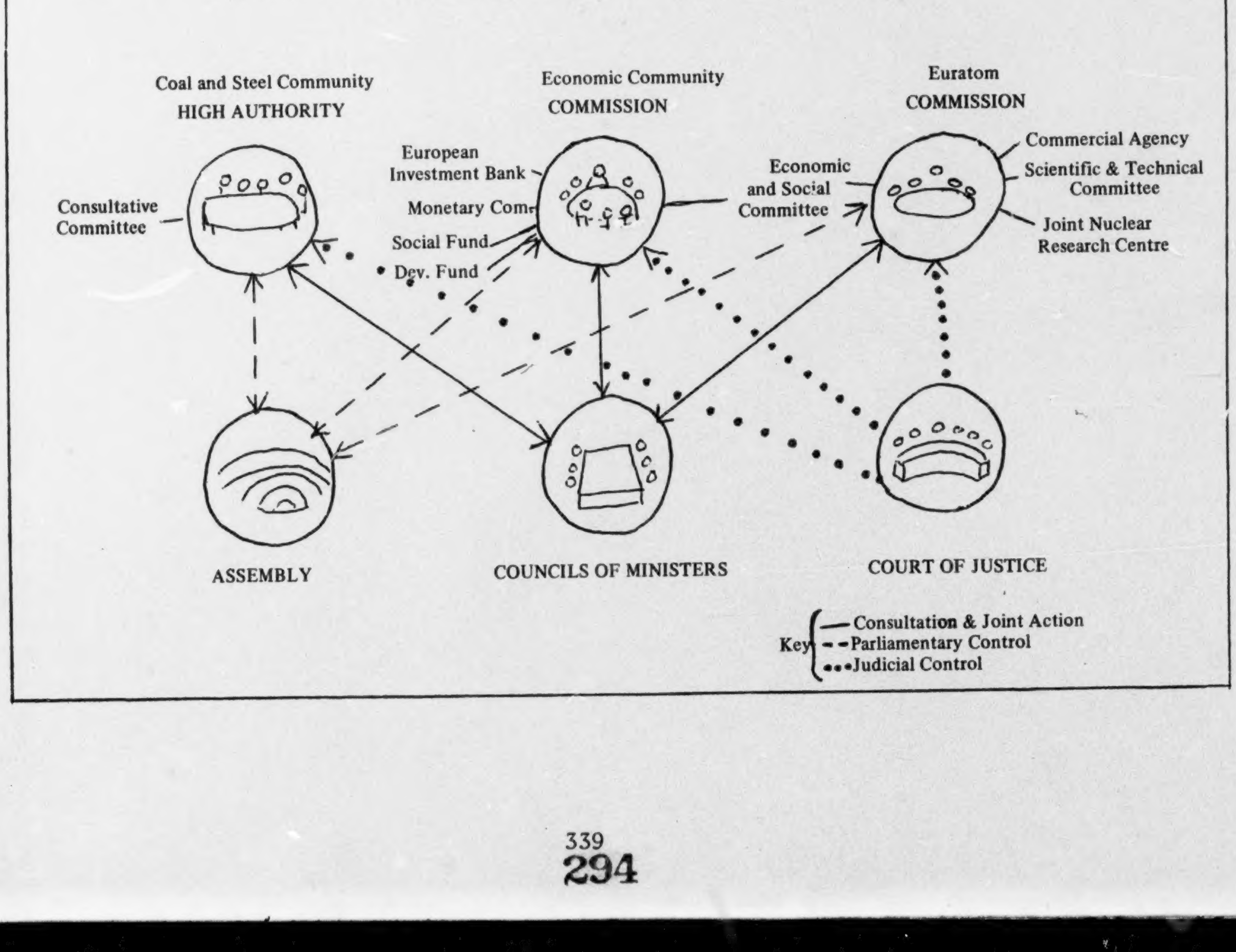
[2] Residences of chiefs of mission and principal consular officers and staff living quarters in separate houses and apartments.

SOURCE: Compiled from list of Government-owned and long-term leased properties as of June 30, 1958, prepared by Office of Foreign Buildings, Department of State.

The ORGANIZATION of WESTERN-EUROPE, 1961


ORGANIZATION FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT (OECD)
(includes Canada and the United States)
European Economic Community
European Atomic Energy Com.
European Coal & Steel Com.
EUROPEAN FREE TRADE ASSOCIATION
BENELUX
The Council of Europe (CE)
NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO)
(includes Canada and the United States)
Key
Membership
Association
Western European Union (WEU)
Ireland
Turkey
Italy
West Germany
Luxembourg
United Kingdom
Norway
Austria
Switz.
Spain
Iceland
Greece
France
Belgium
Netherlands
Denmark
Portugal
Sweden
Finland

The INSTITUTIONS of The EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES


Coal and Steel Community
HIGH AUTHORITY
Economic Community
COMMISSION
Euratom
COMMISSION
Consultative Committee
European Investment Bank
Monetary Com.
Social Fund
Dev. Fund
Economic and Social Committee
Commercial Agency
Scientific & Technical Committee
Joint Nuclear Research Centre
ASSEMBLY
COUNCILS OF MINISTERS
COURT OF JUSTICE
Key
— Consultation & Joint Action
- - Parliamentary Control
••• Judicial Control

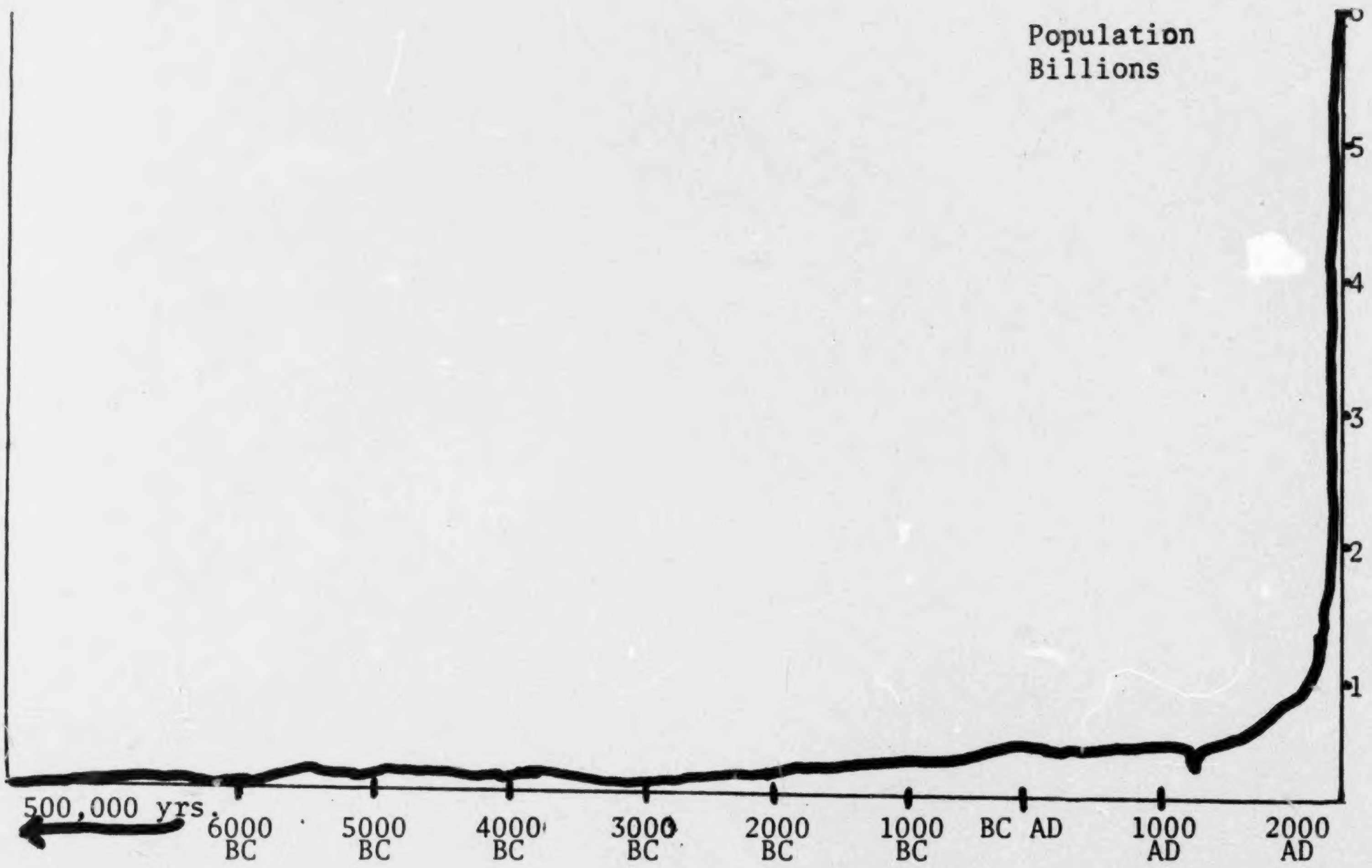


Figure 1: Growth of Human Numbers. It has taken all the hundreds of thousands of years of Man's existence on earth for his numbers to reach three billion. But in only 40 more years population will grow to six billion, if current growth rates remain unchanged. If the old stone age were in scale, the base line would extend 35 feet to the left.

TABLE I

Population Information for Continents (and South America)

Continent	Population Estimates Mid-1963 (millions)	Animal Rate of Increase 1950-1961 (percent)	Birth Rate per 1,000 Population (1956-1960)	Death Rate per 1,000 Population (1956-1960)	Per Capita Gross Nat'l Product-1968 (US Dollars)
World Total	3,180	1.8	36	18	558
Africa	272	2.1	47	25	129
Asia	1,789	2.0	41	22	126
America	441	2.3	34	13	1,488
(South America)	157	2.7	42	19	300
Europe	437	0.8	19	11	900
Oceania	18	2.5	24	9	1,259
U.S.S.R.	225	1.7	25	8	575-1,000

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